

MACCHIAVELLI

FLORENTINE HISTORIE

1598







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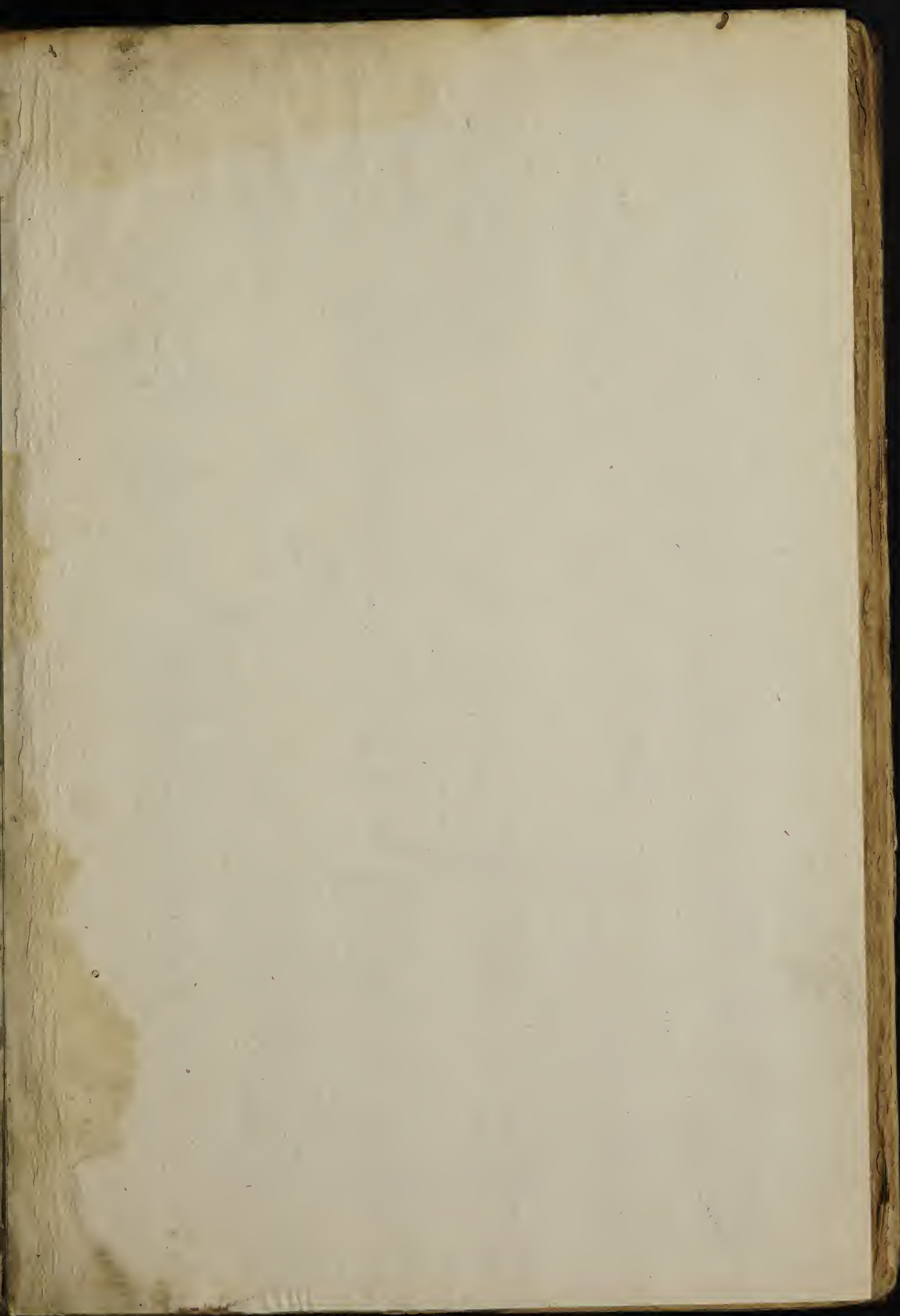
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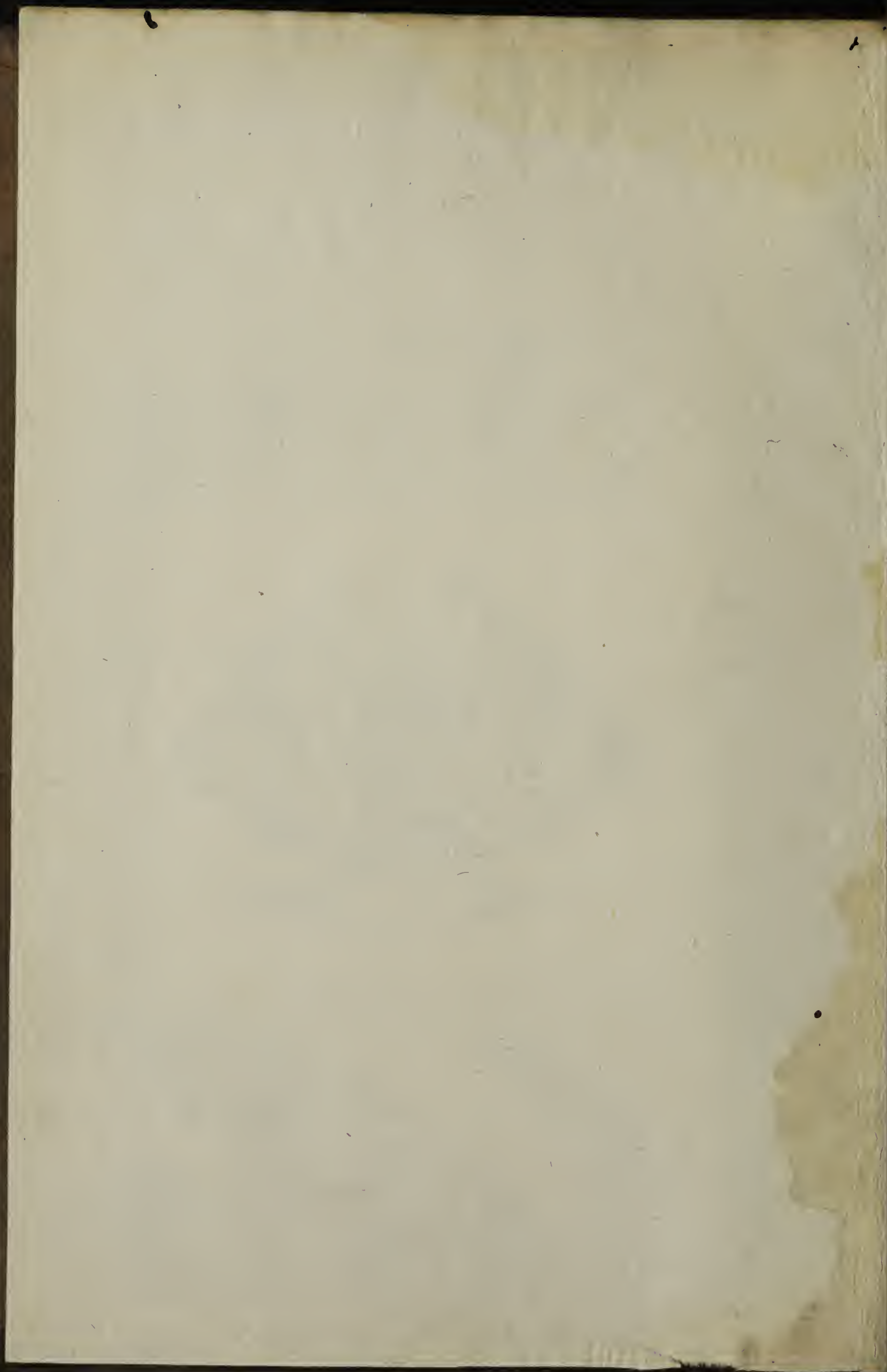
FLORENCE. The Florentie Historie, written in the Italian tongue, by Nicholo Machiavelli, and translated into English by I.B., folio, CURIOUS WOODCUT TITLE, scarce, 7s 6d 1595

The same woodcut is used in the first edition of Machiavelli's works 1611



S.T.C. 17162







THE
FLORENTINE
Historie.

WRITTEN IN THE ITA-
LIAN TONGVE, BY NI-
CHOLO MACCHIAVELLI,
CITIZEN AND SECRE-
tarie of Florence.

And translated into English,
By T. B. Esquire.

LONDON
Printed by T. C. for W. P.
1595.



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TO THE RIGHT HONOV-
RABLE SYR CHRISTOPHER HATTON, KNIGHT
OF THE ORDER, ONE OF HER MAIESTIES
*PRIVIE COVNCCELL, AND LORD CHAN-
cellour of England.*



MY VERIE GOOD LORD, It hath bene (and yet I thinke is) an vse allowable, to present those whom we honour or loue, with such things as either for their value be profitable, or for their noueltie pleasing. Wanting power to performe the one, I make bold to do the other: and according to my promise) send you this old Historie newly translated. Which albeit your L. hath heretofore read in the Italian toong, yet may it be, that (for varieties sake) you will againe vouchsafe to peruse it in our English: written by him that is all yours. Sure I am (and by reading hereof, your L. shall be assured) that neither I haue fully expressed the Authours conceit, nor the writer well performed his dutie. Notwithstanding, sith both those wants may be supplied by your iudgement, I aduenture the Booke into your L. hand, whom I dare trust with any pardonable error. For as I haue taken in hand this labour, more to entertaine my selfe, (not otherwise occupied) then thereby to merit your thanks, or the commendation of others: so doo I recommend the same to your L. rather to be looked on at leisure, then as a thing of perfection worthie to be studied. Yet do I thinke (and so do others of more iudgement) that this Historie doth equall or excell the most part that haue bin written: not so much for the order and argument of the matter, as the iuditiall discourses and obseruations of the Authour. Wherein be discovered the causes of forraine and domesticall discords, the commodities and discommodities of treaties, and the secret humours of Princes: with diuerse other things verie considerable, chiefly of such as be called to consultation of publike affaires & gouernment. And as the end of all Histories ought be to mooue men vnto vertue, and discourage them from vice, so do I thinke, there is not any that conteineth more examples to that purpose, then this writer: who leauing aside all partialitie,

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

and the custome of those that studie to flatter whom they fauour, and misreport whom they loue not, doth seeme greatly to follow the truth, and setteth forth rather the causes and effects of euerie action, then ouer-much extoll or disgrace the persons of whome the storie entreateth. But (as of all other things) so hereof your L. can best iudge. Wherefore most humbly reaccomending to your good fauour, this poore Present, and my faithfull seruice, I take leaue. At the Court, this eight of Aprill,

1588.

Your L. most humble

and assured to commaund,

Thomas Bedingsfeld.





The Proeme of the Authour.

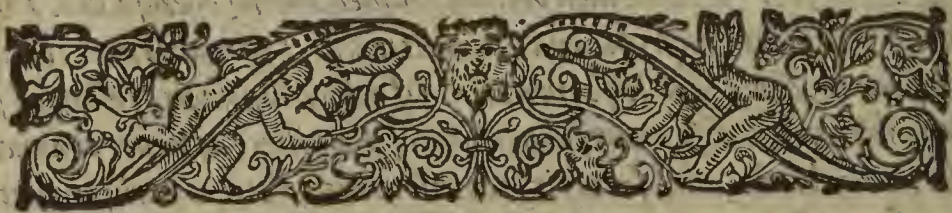


My meaning was, at such time as I determined to write the Actions of the Florentine people, both within and without the Citie, to begin my Narration from the yeare of the Christian Religion, 1444. at which time the house of Medici through the merits of Colimo and Giouanni his father, aspired to more reputation then any other in Florence. For I thought that Leonardo of Arezzo and Poggio (two excellent Historiographers) had particularly set downe all things that till those dayes had hapned. But hauing afterwards diligently read their writings, to see with what order and meanes they proceeded (to the end that following the same, our Historie might be by the Readers better allowed) I found that in their description of the warres made by the Florentines, both against Princes and other forraine States, they had vsed exceeding great diligence: but of the ciuill discords and inward enimities, & of the effects by them brought forth, they had vtterly omitted one part, & so briefly described the other, as the Readers could not thereby gather any profit or pleasure at all: which I thinke they did either because they iudged those matters so meane as were not worthie the writing, or else, feared to offend the posteritie of some persons who should thereby haue bene euill reported. Which two respects (be it spoken without offence) seeme to me, vtterly unworthie men of great reputation. For if there be any thing in Histories that delighteth or teacheth, it is that, which maketh particular description. Or if any reading be profitable for men that gouerne in Common-weales, it is that, which sheweth the occasions of hate and faction: to the end that being warned by harme of others, they may become wise, and continue themselves vnited. Also if euery example of Common-weales do moue the mind, those we read of our Country doo moue most, and be most profitable. Moreouer, if the diuisions of any Common-weale haue euer bene notable, the diuisions of Florence are of all others most notable. For the most part of other Common-weales (to vs knowne) were content with one onely diuision, and thereby, according to the accidents sometimes encreased, and sometimes ruined their Cities. But Florence not content with one, had many diuisions. In Rome (as euery man knoweth) after the Kings were expelled, diuision grew betweene the nobilitie and the multitude: which continued till the ruine thereof: the like hapned in Athens, and all other Common-weales which in those dayes flourished. But in Florence, first the noble men became diuided among themselues. Then the nobilitie and the people. And at last the people and the multitude. Yea many times it hapned, that one of these being victorious, diuided it selfe into two. Of which diuisions, followed so many murders, so many banishments, and so many subuersions of Families, as neuer chaunced within any Citie, that can be remembred. And surely it seemeth to mee, there is nothing that witnesseth so well the greatnes of our Citie, as that which dependeth vpon these diuisions, being of force sufficient to subuert any Citie of what greatnes or power so euer. Notwithstanding our state still encreased. For so great was the vertue of those Citizens, by their wisdom and courage to work the aduancement of themselues and their country, as they that hapned to escape so manifold mischiefes, could by their vertue procure more encrease to the Citie, then the displeasure of those accidents which wrought the decaie, could decrease it. And without all doubc, if Florence had bin so happie, as it might vpon the deliuery thereof from the Empire, haue taken some forme of gouernment, which would haue holden the state vnited, I know not what Common-weale either

The Proeme of the Authour.

ancient or moderne, that for vertue of Armes and industrie, before it could haue bene preferred. For most true it is, that after the Ghibilini were banished in so great numbers that all Toscana and Lombardy were full of them, the Guelfi with the rest that remayned at the warre against Arezzo one yeare before the iourney of Compaldino, drew out of their owne Cittie of Cittizens onely 1200. men of Armes, and 12000. footmen. After that time, in the warre against Filippo Visconti Duke of Milan, hauing rather to proue industrie, then their owne proper Armes (for at that time they were decayed) we see in five yeares, which that warre continued, the Florentines spent three Milions and five hundred thousand Florins. And that warre being ended (as not pleased with peace) to shew more of their greatnesse, they besieged the Cittie of Lucca. I cannot therefore conceiue any cause why these diuisions should not be particularly written. And if those notable writers before named, were withholden by feare, to offend the posteritie of such as they should haue made mention of, they greatly deceiued themselues, and seeme to know little the ambition of men, with the desire they haue to make the names of their Ancestors and themselues to continue perpetuall. Neyther do they remember, that many men wanting occasion to win themselues fame, by some laudable deede; by some impious acte, haue laboured to aspire thereunto. And they considered not, that the actions of men which haue in them greatnesse, as gouernments and authorities, howsoeuer they be handled, or what end soeuer they haue, do seeme alwayes to giue men more honor then blame. Which I hauing thought vpon, did determine to change my meaning, and resolved to begin my Historie at the beginning of our Cittie. And sith my intent is not to vsurp the place of others, I will particularly set downe what chanced onely within the Cittie till the yeare 1334. and of such things as hapned without, I will not say more then that, which for the vnderstanding of the other shall be necessarie. The yeare 1434. being passed, I will particularly write the one and the other. Moreouer, to the end this Historie may be the better vnderstood, before I intreate of Florence, I shall discourse by what meanes Italy became subiect to such Potentates as in those dayes there gouerned. The first Booke shall briefly recite all accidents hapned in Italy from the declination of the Romaine Empire, till the yeare 1434. The second will shew what things hapned from the beginning of Florence, till the warre which the Florentines made against the Pope, after expulcion of the Duke of Athene. The third doth end with the death of King Ladislao of Naples, Anno 1434. In the fourth Booke we wil intreate what other things chanced till the yeare abouesaid. And from thencefoorth discourse particularly of such accidents as befell within Florence, till this our time.

(..)





To the Reader.



NOT by my suite, though by my consent, this Historie is now become publike. The translation thereof was diuerse yeares past desired by an honorable personage, not now liuing; yet for loyalty to his Prince, loue to his Countrey, and vertuous deserving of all men, worthie a longer life: had not God in his diuine prouidence otherwise ordeyned. Loth I was to medle with matter of so much waight, in regard of mine owne insufficiencie, being neither learned, nor making profession of learning: and lother it should be published, for that the Author (in some other his works) hath not (as is thought) written with due respect to pietie. Howsoeuer that be, in this Booke (being a meere relation of the *Florentines* fortune, when they were gouerned Aristocraticallie) appeareth not any thing vnfit to be knowne, or that may receiue euill construction.

The first part, sheweth the occasions of ruine in the *Romaine* Empire; and how the Prouinces of *Italy* became diuided into diuerse governments: with their often variations. Secondly, by what meanes the Pope, the *Venetians*, the King of *Naples*, and the Duke of *Milan*, possessed the greatest parts of *Italy*. Lastly, how that the *Florentines*, abandoning obedience to the Emperour, liued (almost continually) in faction and ciuill partialitie, vntill the house of *Medici*, by the great vertue of *Giouanni, Cosimo, Piero, and Lorenzo*, atteyned to a singuler reputation in that State; where now (and some yeares past) they gouerne as Princes, with great honor, iustice, and integritie: which happinesse they could not finde in their Aristocraticall pollicie. Yet diuerse notable Polititians and wise law-makers, haue not onely allowed, but also highlie commended it aboue others: Affirming, that as mediocritie is in all things most praiseable, and extremities reproveable, so the Aristocracie (being the meane betweene the multitude and one Prince) is speciallie to be preferred. Also for that the authoritie to commaund, is due to the most worthe, and worthinesse consisteth either in honor, in vertue, in riches, or in them altogither, the state Aristocraticall must needs be most allowed; bicause the noble, the riche, and vertuous men are in all places the fewest number, and they onely in that kinde of government haue authoritie: They alleage also how the rich men onely, as they that haue most interest in the State, do bestowe most in publike seruices, and therefore to them the Government ought be allotted: so was it in *Rome* after the Kings were deposed; likewise in *Athens*; in *Carthage*, and at this day in *Venice, Genoua, and Lucca*.

For answere of these reasons in fauour of Aristocracie, wherein mediocritie seemeth to be speciallie sought for, who so shall duely examine thereof, may finde that

The subject
of this Historie.

Mediocritie
the scope of
Aristocracie.

Government
Aristocracie
imperfite.

To the Reader.

that to diuide things in the midst, and thereby to marke out the vertue (which consisteth in reason) were impossible, as all Philosophers haue determined. True it is, that the meane betweene all, and one is perfit, yet no where to be found: sith in some Cities there are not one thousand Citizens, and in some other more then an hundreth thousand: which maketh the Aristocracie alwayes incertaine by the incertaintie of the numbers. And where the Gouvernors be many, there are also factions many, the resolutions slowe, and the secrets of State often discouered. For by experience is seene, how those Aristocracies which haue in them fewest Gouvernors, are most durable: As that of the *Lacedemonians*, gouerned by thirtie persons, and that of the *Pharsalians* by twentie. It is not therefore the meane betweene one and all, which causeth mediocritie.

Now for bestowing Soueraigntie vpon the most worthie, true it is, so it ought be, yet that argument maketh more for the Monarchie. For among the noble, rich, and wise, some one doth euer excell the rest, and to him (by that reason) the authoritie ought be giuen, seeing it is not possible to find all those things equally in all men. If it be alleaged, that among the greatest number are found most vertuous and good men, that reason serueth not, either in that state or the Democracie: seeing in them both (as in all Corporations) the most voices are preferred before the wise and better. To conclude, I say that in all States, wherein are most Gouvernors, there are fewest resolutions, and most disputations. The *Venetians* therefore (to meete with those inconuenients) do commit the manning of their ordinarie affaires to the *Senate*, which consisteth of seuen persons onely, as knowing that the fewer be made priuie, the more secretly they shall be handled: and no Aristocracie haue had so long continuance. Thus much touching Aristocraticall gouernment, of which kinde, was that whereof this Historie largely discourseth.

Equalitie the
scope of De-
mocracie.

The State Populer, do likewise boast of the excellencie thereof, as that which obserueth equalitie without exception of persons, and reduceth the constitutions, ciuill vnto the lawe of nature: For as nature hath not giuen riches, offices, or honor to one man more then to another, so the Government Populer, tendeth to haue all men equall, without priuiledge or prerogatiue whatsoever. For by such meane (they say) that avarice in those that be riche, and insolencie in them that be great, shall be taken away, which are the most perilous inconuenients that can happen to any Common-weale; and consequently all thefts, oppressions, partialities, and factions, are remoued: adding, that humaine societie cannot be nourished without amitie, and the nourisher of amitie is equalitie, and no equalitie can be found but onely in States Populer: it followeth therefore, that is the best and most commendable gouernment, bicause each man enioyeth libertie, naturall and equall iustice, without feare of tyrannie or oppression. These, and some other reasons are framed in commendation of Government Populer.

Democracie
imperfic.

Whereunto I say, that this order of commanding, which chiefly respecteth equalitie, is not, nor hath bene in any Common-weale, bicause no such equalitie of goods and honors could be obserued. And he who taketh vpon him to bestow them equally, shall proceed contrarie to nature. For as she hath made some men more wise and aduised then others, so hath she framed them to commaund, and others to obey. Some haue wisdom and aptnesse to direct, others haue strength of bodie, and fitnesse to execute what is commaunded. And touching libertie naturall (whereof Populer States do glory much) were that such as is supposed, how could there be either Magistrate, lawe, or forme of gouernment: for where Magistracie is, there can be no generall equalitie. Besides that, all wise and learned

writers

To the Reader.

writers haue misliked that kinde of government. *Plato* calleth it a market, where all things are to be sould. *Aristotle* alloweth not thereof, nor of the Aristocracie. *Seneca* saith, it is impossible for any man to please the people, that taketh pleasure in vertue. And how can a multitude (as a monster of many heads) void of reason and iudgement, determine any thing good or profitable? Also to aske counsell of the people, as was anciently vsed in States Populer, is (as it were) that wise men should seeke to be informed by mad folks. Which moued *Anacarsis* to say (seeing the Magistrates to propound matters, and the people to resolue) that in *Athens* wise men moued questions, and fooles determined what should be done. If any man produce the Populer Government of the *Suiffes*, continued more then three hundreth yeares: Thereunto may be answered, that the nature of that people is apt to be so gouerned. Besides that, the most mutenous sort of them are commonly from home in seruice of the warre vnder forraigne Princes, and the rest more tractable, do not care much how the State is handled. And among themselues there is no diffidence, by reason the Nobilitie of those Countreys were slaine, first at the battell of *Sampac*, and after at *Basil*, the rest willinglie banished themselues.

By this which hath bene briefly said, appeareth how both the optimacie and Populer governments are subiect to mutation, disorder and viter ruine, and consequently how fortunate those people are, whom God hath destined to liue in the obedience of a successiue royall Monarchie: where the Prince submitteth himselfe no lesse to the lawes of nature, then he desireth the subiects should be obediēt vnto him, leauing to euery one libertie of life, and propertie in that he possesseth. Succession argueth Gods prouidence, and government naturall, planteth a certaine reciproke loue betweene the Prince and the people. One other reason of nature appeareth, in that the Monarke is alone in soueraigntie: for as God onely ruleth the whole world, and as the sunne alone giueth light to all creatures, so the people of one land do most naturally yeeld obedience to one head and commander. Yea, all nations were first so gouerned, as the *Afsirians*, *Persians*, *Egiptians*, *Jewes*, *Grecians*, *Scythians*, *Turks*, *Tartars*, *Englishmen*, *Frenchmen*, *Spaniards*, *Polonians*, *Danes*, &c. and in the *Indias* were found no other government. Neither do the sacred Histories make mention of other Rulers then Kings onely. And to confirme what hath bene said of royall government, reade the opinions of *Plato*, *Homer*, *Herodotus*, *Xenophon*, *S. Cyprian*, *S. Ierome*, with other as well diuine, as philosophical writers. Finally, it seemeth, that Soueraigntie in one onely person is more honorable and magnificent, then if the same were diuided among a fewe Lords (as is vsed in the Aristocracie) or among the whole multitude, as in Populer Governments. And experience hath proued, that for direction and commandment in the warre, pluralitie of Gouernors haue almost euer receiued preiudice and dishonor. Which moued the *Romanes* (at such occations) to make a *Dictator*. The like was done by the *Lacedemonians*, and is (at this time) vsed of the *Venetians*, whome they call *gran Proueditore*. By these reasons and examples (omitting many other) appeareth, that the Monarchie royall, is a government most reasonable, most naturall, most honorable, and most necessary. And such is the happinesse of our fortune, that by diuine prouidence, there liueth not in any land a more perfit paterne of an excellēt Prince, then is our present Soueraigne, who feareth God rightlie, and gouerneth her subiects iustlie: prudent in counsell, and valorous in execution. In prosperitie modest, in aduersitie constant; faithfull to friends, and feared of enemies; affable to the good, and effroyable to the euill: vnder whose sacred protection, our peace, our plentie, and our securitie, hath many yeares prospered.

Monarchie,
the most excellent
Government.



The Contents of many principall things worthie note,
contained in this worke.

In the first Booke.

THe occasion how the Romane Empire became
destroyed.
-- Diverse incurtions of barbarous people into I-
taly.
The ruine, repaire, and building, of sundry noble Ci-
ties.
The acts of Belisario.
The acts of Narcete.
Of Comondo and Rosmonda.
Of Clesi King of Gotti.
The meanes whereby the Bishops of Rome aspired
to greatnes. And how they at diuerse times haue
bene the ruine of Italy.
How long the Lombardy possessed Italy.
How Pope Vrban, determined the enterprise of A-
sia against the Sarafins.
The originall of Venice.
The warre betweene the Venetians and Genoueis.
Of other warres in Italy.
What famous Captaines in those daies serued the
Princes of Italy.

In the second Booke.

THe originall of Florence.
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Of the factions, Guelfi and Ghibilini.
The order and forme of the Florentine Common-
weale.
Manfredi chiefe of the Ghibilines : and the warre
which hapned betweene those sides.
The returne of the Guelfi, into Florence.
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The Citie reduced into quarters.
Of Giano della Bella : and newe tumults in Flo-
rence.
Bertaccio causeth the hand of one Lore to be cut
off.
Of the enimitie which arose betweene the Cherchi
and Donati.
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The comming of Carlo de Valloys, the Frēch kings
brother into Florence.
Of M. Corso with certaine banished men entereth
the Citie.
How the Lucchesi seiled the state in Florence.
Florence both by fire and sword tormented.
Of a place called le Stinche, in the vale of Greue.
Vguccione chiefe of the faction Ghibilina and Bi-
anca.

The Ghibilini banished, and among them the Poet
Dante.
Of great misery in Florence.
New reformation in Florence.
Castruccio of Lucca.
The order of casting Lots : and how it begunne in
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League betweene the Florentines and Venetians.
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Proclamation of banishment made by that Duke :
and murder of some Cittizens.
The Oration of certayn cheefe Cittizens, before the
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The Dukes Pallace sacked.
Conspiracy against the Duke.
The Duke assaulted, and vanquished.
The Duke dismissed out of Florence : his lyfe and
condition.
Andrea Strozzi entendeth to vsurpe the state of
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At what time the great plague hapned in that Ci-
ty : whereof Boccatio hath at large written.

In the third Booke.

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the occasion of denision in Cities.
The partialities of the Albizi and Rizzi.
How M. di Riale of Pronenza, came to Florence.
A law made against the Ghibilini.
How the word Ammoniti, arose in Florence : and
what it meaneth.
An Oration of one Citizen, to the Lords.
The occasion of the corruption of Italy.
The cheefe of the faction of Guelfi.
New tumults in Florence.
The Oration of Luigi Guicciardini Gonfaloniere.
New reformation of the City.
One Simone, discouereth a conspiracy against the
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Michiele di Lando, an artificer, by his courage, a-
spired to be chosen Gonfaloniere di Giustitia.
New reformation in Florence.
A commendation of Michiele di Lando.
An accusation of many Cittizens, for their returne
being banished.
The insolency of Georgio Scali.

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 The speech of *Benedetto Alberti* to his companions.
 Of the maner of creation of the *Balia* in *Florence*.
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 The words of *Veri di Medici*.
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 The death of certain Citizens.
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netians.
 The death of *Giouanni de Medici*: and his com-
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 Of *Cosimo* his sonne.
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 The enterprize of the *Florentines* against *Lucca*.
 The violence offered to *Sarauzza*, and the speech
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Filippo Brunalesco an excellent Architector.
 The defeate of the *Florentine* army, by *Nicholo*
Piccinino.
 A consultation to expulse *Cosimo di Medici* out
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 The answer of *Nicholo Vzano*.
Cosimo di Medici cited before the Senate, was im-
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Cosimo confined to *Padoa*.
Cosimo returneth to his Countrey.
 In the fift Booke.
Braccio and *Sforza*, two great Captaynes in
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Gattamelata, Generall for the *Venetians*.
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 The speech of *Rinaldo delli Albizi* to the Duke of
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 Rebellion of *Genoua* from the Duke.
 An Oration of an ancient Citizen of *Lucca* to
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Francesco Sforza, Generall of the league of *Flo-*

rence and *Venice*.
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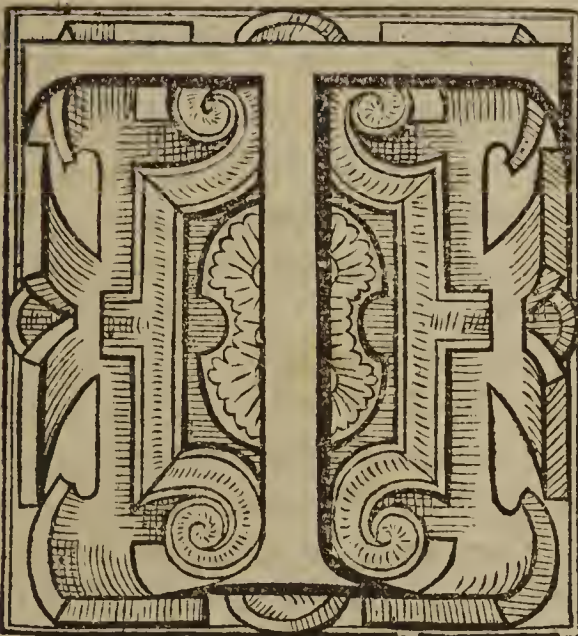
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FINIS.





THE FIRST BOOKE OF the Florentine Historie.



THE people inhabiting the North, beyond the Rivers of *Reyne* and *Danubio*; being borne in a cold Region, yet wholesome & apt to generation, do many times encrease, and become so populous, that part of them are constrained to abandon their native countries, and seeke new places where to remaine. The order which those people hold in dispersing the inhabitants, is, to divide themselves into three parts, yet so, as in euerie one, may be some of the nobilitie, and some of the people; some of the rich and some of the poore equallie diuided: which done, the one part (whose lot falleth so out) leaueth that country and seeketh fortune elsewhere to abide. The

The order of the Northern people.

other two parts of the people there remaining, doo possesse and enioy the landes of them that are departed. These people were those which destroyed the Romane Empire; whereunto the Emperours themselves gaue some occasion by forsaking *Rome*, the ancient Emperiall seate, and setting themselves at *Constantinople*: For thereby the West part of the Empire became weake, lesse regarded, & more easie to be harmed both of their owne ministers, and others their enemies. Surely the destruction of so great an Empire builded vpon the blood of so many vertuous men, could not be lost without the sloath of Princes, infidelitie of ministers, great forces, and much obstinacie in them, who assaulted the same: for not onely, one sort of people, but many multitudes in that action conspired. The first enemies, which came to the destruction of the Roman Empire after the *Cimbri* (vanquished by *Marius* the Romane) were the *Visigotti*, which name in our language, may bee called *Gotti* of the West. These people, after some conflicts in the Empire, and through the sufferance of the Emperours, long time continued their dwellings vpon the Riuer of *Danubio*. And although at sundrie occasions, and sundrie times, they assaulted the prouinces belonging to the Empire, yet were they by the power of the Emperours from time to time impeached: and at last by *Theodotio* gloriously vanquished. So that thereby being brought vnder his obedience, they could not againe make any King ouer them, but contented with the Emperours paie, vnder his gouernment and ensigne, they liued and serued. But *Theodotio* being dead, and leauing *Arcadio* and *Honorio* his sonnes, heires of the Empire, (but not of his vertue and fortune) the time, with the Prince clearly altered and chaunged. *Theodotio* authorized vnto three parts of the Empire, three gouernours. In the East, *Ruffino*, in the West *Stillicone*, and in Affrica *Gildo- nio*. Euerie one of these, determined after the death of their Prince, not to gouerne

The Northern people opprelled the Romane Empire.

The Empire diuided into three gouernments.

as ministers, but to possess the countries as Princes. Of these three, *Gildonio* and *Rufino*, were at their beginnings oppressed: but *Stillicone* better dissembling his intent, sought to winne himselfe credit with the new Emperours, & neuerthelesse disturbe the quietnesse of their state. Then to the end he might the rather attaine the possession thereof, and procure the *Visigotti* to become enemies to the Empire, he counselled the Emperour no more to paie them. Besides that, *Stillicone* imagining these enemies were not of force sufficient to disturbe the Empire, found meanes that the *Burgundi*, *Fraunchi*, *Vandali*, and *Alani* (all people of the North, and appointed to seeke themselves a new habitation) assailed the Romane countries. The *Visigotti* then being discharged from their paie, determined (as of an iniury) to be reuenged: & creating *Alarico* their King, assaulted the Empire, destroyed *Italy*, and sacked *Rome*. After which victory, *Alarico* died, and to him succeeded *Ataulfo*: who tooke to wife *Placidia* sister to the Emperours, and through that alliance, agreed with them to succour *France* and *Spaine*: which countries were by the *Vandali*, *Burgundi*, *Alani*, and *Fraunchi*, (thereto moued by the occasions aforesayd) assailed. Whereof ensued, that the *Vandali* (who had already conquered that part of *Spaine* which is called *Betica*) were sore molested by the *Visigotti*: and not hauing other helpe, were forced to accept the offer of *Bonifacio*, at that time governing *Affrica* for the Emperour: who required them to take in hand the conquest thereof, being by his meanes in Rebellion: and he fearing least his fault should be to the Emperour detected. For these reasons aforesaid, the *Vandali* most willingly tooke the enterprize in hand, & vnder *Genserico* their King, possessed *Affrica*. By this time *Theodotio* sonne to *Archadio* was become Emperour, who litle regarding the affaires of the Empire in the West, gaue great hope to these forrein people to enioy those things they had conquered. So that, the *Vandali* possessed *Affrica*, the *Alani* and *Visigotti* governed *Spaine*: the *Fraunchi* and *Burgundi* did not onely conquere *Gallia*, but also vnto the parts thereof, by them conquered, gaue their owne names, calling the one *Francia*, the other *Burgogna*. The happie successe of those, encouraged new people to the destruction of the Empire. For at that time the people called *Vnni* assailed and possessed *Pannonia*, a prouince adioyning to the Riuer *Danubio*, which at this day hauing taken the name of these *Vnni*, is called *Vngheria*. Vpon consideration of these disorders, the Emperour seeing himselfe on euerie side assailed, to the end he might haue the fewer foes, beganne to take truce, sometimes with the *Vandali*, and sometimes with the *Fraunchi*: which did greatly encrease the reputation and power of the barbarous people, disgracing and diminishing the credit of the Empire. Neither was in those dayes, the Iland of *Bretagna* (at this day called *England*) assured from such inuasion: for the *Bertoni* fearing these people which had possessed *France*, and not finding how the Emperour could defend them, called to aide them the *Angli*, a people of *Germany* so named. These *Angli* vnder *Votigerio* their King, tooke the enterprize in hand, ouerthrew the enemy, and in the end draue them out of the Iland, themselves there remaining & inhabiting. By the name of which *Angli*, that country was, and yet is called *Anglia*. The inhabitants whereof, being thus spoiled and driuen from their country, became desperate, perswading themselves, that although they could not defend their own country, yet was it possible for them to conquere another. Whereupon, they with their families passed the seas, and planted them on the other side neare the shoare, and called that country by their owne name, *Bretagna*. The people called *Vnni*, who, (as is aforesaid) had conquered *Pannonia*, assembling themselves with other people, called *Zepedi*, *Eruli*, *Turinghi*, and *Ostrogotti*, (which word signifieth in that language, *Gotti* of the East) prepared themselves to seeke new countries: but not being of force sufficient to enter *France* (being defended by other barbarous forces) they came vnto *Italy*, conducted

Rome sacked by the Visigotti.

Bonifacio governor of Affrica.

How Gallia became named Francia.

How Hungaria became so named.

Votigerio king of the Angli.

How the name of England was given to that Iland.

The ancient English people now inhabitants of Bretagna.

by

by *Attila* their king, who not long before, to gouerne alone in his kingdome, had slaine *Bleda* his brother. Thus *Attila* became mightie, *Andarico* king of *Zebedi*, and *Velamer* king of the *Ostrogotti*, were made as it were, his subiects. *Attila* being arriued in *Italy*, besieged *Aquilegia*, where without resistance, hee continued two yeares, and during the siege, spoyled the country thereabouts, and dispersed the inhabitants of the same: which (as hereafter shalbe declared) was the beginning of the citie of *Vinegia*. After the taking & ruine of *Aquilegia*, and many other cities, he marched towards *Rome*: from the spoyle whereof, at the request of the Bishop, he refrained. The reuerence & respect which *Attila* did bear towards this Bishop, was such, as perswaded him to leaue *Italy*, and retire himselfe to *Austria*, where he died. After his death, *Velamer* king of the *Ostrogotti*, and other the leaders of forraine nations, tooke Armes against *Tenrico* and *Eurie* his sonnes, the one of them they slew, and constrained the other, with the *Vnni* to returne ouer *Danubio*, into their owne country. The *Ostrogotti* and the *Tepedi*, were settled in *Pannonia*, the *Eruli* and *Turingi* vpon the shoare on the other side of *Danubio*. King *Attila* thus departed from *Italy*, *Valentiniano* the Emperour in the West, imagining to reparaire the countrey, and hoping with more commoditie to defend the same from the barbarous people, abandoned *Rome*, and settled himselfe in *Rauenna*. These aduersities happened to the Empyre in the West, occasioned the Emperours, who then dwelt at *Constantinople*, many times to graunt the possession thereof to others, as a thing full of perils and expence. And the Romanes otherwhiles, seeing themselues abandoned, without leaue created an other Emperour or some deputie, to performe that office, (as did *Masimo* the Romane) after the death of *Valentiniano*, who constrained *Eudossa* lately wife to the Emperour, to take him to her husband. This woman beeing borne of Emperiall blood, desirous to reuenge so great an iniurie, and disdaining to bee married with a priuate Citizen, secretly perswaded *Genferico* King of the *Vandali* and Lord of *Affrica*, to come into *Italy*, shewing him the facilitie and profit of that enterprise. Hee enticed with hope of so great a spoyle came speedily thither, and finding *Rome* abandoned, sacked the Towne, and there remained foureteene dayes. Hee also tooke and spoyled diuerse other Townes in *Italy*: and fraughting himselfe and his Army with spoyle, returned into *Affrica*. The Romanes came home to *Rome*, and finding *Masimo* dead, elected *Auito* a Romane, for Emperour. After the death of diuerse other Emperours, the Empire of *Constantinople*, came to the hands of *Zenone*: and that of *Rome*, to *Oreste* and his sonne *Augustolo*, who through subtiltie had vsurped that Empyre. While these men thus possessed and determined to holde the Empyre by force, the *Eruli* and *Turingi*, who (as is aforesayd) after the death of *Attila* remained vpon the shoare on the other side of *Danubio* conspired together vnder the conduct of their Captaine *Odoacre*, came into *Italy*, and possessed such places, as were by them left voyd. Then the *Longobardi* (people also toward the North) entered *Italy*: ledde thither by *Godolio* their King, who were, (as heereafter shall be declared) the greatest plague of that countrey. *Odoacre* arriued in *Italy*, conquered the same, and neare vnto *Paugia* slew *Oreste*, forcing *Augustolo* to flie away. After which victorie (to the ende that *Rome* varying in gouernment, the gouernour might receiue a new title) *Odoacre* leauing the name of the Empire, caused himselfe to be called King of *Rome*, and was the first Captaine of all the forraine people that inuaded *Italy* to inhabit there. Because all the others, either for feare not to enioy that they had gotten, or else doubting to be driuen out by the Emperour in the East, either else for some other hidden occasion, onely spoyled the country: and that done, sought to plant their habitation elsewhere.

Attila his
comming in-
to Italy.

The cause of
the election
of an Empe-
rour in the
West.

The coming
of the Longo-
bardi into Ita-
ly.

How the ancient Empyre became diuided.

Theodorico king of Ostrogotti, a most vertuous Prince.

elsewhere. Thus we see, that in those dayes the ancient Romane Empire was reduced to the gouernment of these Princes. *Zenone* remaining in *Constantinople*, commaunded all the Empire in the East. The *Ostrogotti* gouerned *Mesia* and *Pannonia*. The *Visigotti*, *Sueui*, and *Alani*, possessed *Guaſcognia* and *Spaine*. The *Vandoli* ruled *Affrica*. The *Franchi* and *Burgundi* liued in *France*. The *Eruli* and *Turingi* remained in *Italy*. The kingdome of *Ostrogotti* came to the handes of *Theodorico*, Nephewe of *Velamer*, beeing in league with *Zenone* Emperour in the East, wrote vnto him, that it seemed a thing vniust to his people the *Ostrogotti*, that they beeing in vertue superiours to all others, should be inferiours in Empyre: And therefore he could not by any meanes hold them within the confines of *Pannonia*. It seemed therefore necessarie to suffer them to take armes, and seeke new Countries: But first hee thought good to let him vnderstand thereof, to the intent hee might graunt them some country, where with his good fauour and their greater commoditie, they might inhabite. The Emperour *Zenone*, partly for feare, and partly for the desire hee had to haue *Odoacre* driuen out of *Italy*, graunted that *Theodorico* might come against *Odoacre*, and take the possession thereof. Then *Theodorico* departed from *Pannonia*, leauing there the *Zepedi* his friends: and being arriued in *Italy*, slew *Odoacre*, and his sonne; by whose example, hee tooke vnto him the title of King of *Italy*, making *Rauenna* his royall seate, moued by the same reasōs, that induced *Valentiniano* there to dwell. *Theodorico* was a man both for warre and peace moste excellent: for in the one, hee was alwaies victorious, and in the other generally profited the cities and people to him subiect. Hee diuided the *Ostrogotti* with their Captaines into sundry townes, to the end that in the warre hee might commaund them, and in the peace correct them: hee enlarged the Citie of *Rauenna* and restored *Rome* in all thinges (the discipline of warre except) giuing to the Romanes euerie other honour: & with his only authoritie kept in awe all the barbarous Kings vsurpers of the Empyre. Hee built townes and fortresses betweene the Alpes, and the point of the sea *Adriatico*, the rather to empeach the passage of other barbarous people that should assaile *Italy*. And had not his great vertue bene in the end of his life blotted with some cruelties, committed vpon suspition of his kingdome (as the death of *Simmaco* and *Boetio*, men of most godly life) he had bene in all respects worthy of honour and memorie. For the vertue and bountie of him, did not only repaire *Rome* and *Italy* of the affliction committed by the barbarous nations: but also reduced them into an order and gouernment moste fortunate. And surely, if any times were euer in *Italy*, and the other Prouinces thereabouts by reason of barbarous oppression miserable, they were those which happened from the time of *Arcadio* and *Onorio*, till his dayes. For who so shall consider the great mischiefs which happen to cōmon weales by the variatiō of gouernment, or change of the Prince, without any dissention and diuision, shall finde the same alone of force inough to ruine any state or kingdome, how mightie soeuer. It may therefore be imagined how great miseries the Romane Prouinces endured: for they did not only alter their gouernment, but also their lawes, their customes, their maner of life, their religion, their tounge, their apparrell, and their names. All which things (nay any one of them considered vnseene) would moue the hardest heart to cōpassion. At that time many cities were ouerthrowen, many begun, & many enlarged. Among those that were ruined, were *Aquilegia*, *Luni*, *Chiusi*, *Popolonia*, *Fiesole*, and others. Of those which were buylt new, were *Vinegia*, *Siena*, *Ferrara*, *Aquila*, and other townes and castels, which for breuitie I omit. Those which of small Cities became great, were *Fiorenza*, *Genoua*, *Pisa*, *Milan*, *Napoli*, and *Bologna*, to the which may be ioyned the ruine and repaire of *Rome*, with diuerse others Citties in like fort

fort defaced and after amended. Among these ruines and these new people, there grewe vp new languages, since that time vsed in *France*, *Spaine*, and *Italy*, which mixed with the ancient tongues of those Countries, and the Romane speech, haue framed languages neuer before time knowen. The names also of those Prouinces, riuers, lakes, seas, and men, were viterly changed. For *France*, *Italy* and *Spayne*, be full of new names, from the olde farre differing: as appeareth (omitting many others). The riuers of *Po*, *Garda* and the *Archipelago*, which are names diuers from those of auncient time vsed. Men likewise commonly in those dayes called *Cesari*, *Pompei*, and such like: are new baptized, *Peter*, *Mathew*, and so forth. But among so many variations, the change of Religion was not the least, for those of the ancient faith, contending with the miracles of the new, wrought among men occasion of great discord: but had the christian Religion bene vnited, the disorders had not bene so great. For the *Greeke* church, the *Romane* church, and the church of *Rauenna*, contended one against the other. Besides them, many other differents arose among the christian people, & into many opinions diuided the world. An example whereof was *Affrica*, which suffered more affliction by reason of the opinion of *Arius* (which the *Vandoli* beleued) then by any other cause either of their couetousnes or naturall crueltie. During the multitudes of these miseries, euerie man bare (as it were) in his face, the markes of his discontented minde. For besides the manifold mischieses by them endured, the greater number wanted the knowledge of God, by whome all creatures hope to be comforted. For the most of those people being ignorant of the true God, wanting helpe and hope, most miserably dyed. Thus it appeareth, that *Theodorico* deserued no small commendation, being the first that appeased so many troubles. For within these 28. yeares which he reigned in *Italy*, he reduced it to so great order and honour, as the markes of miserie were scantly perceiued. But he being dead, and leauing *Atalarico* for king (who was the sonne of *Amalasciunta* his daughter) *Italy* in short space returned to the former disorders. For *Attalarico* shortly after his graundfather died, left the gouernment to his mother, and she making *Theodato* her minister in the gouernment, was by him betraied. *Theodato* by this meane made King, became odious to the *Ostrogotti*, and *Iustiniano* the Emperour hoped the rather to driue him from *Italy*. To performe that enterprise, he deputed *Bellisario* to be his Liestenaunt, who had already conquered *Affrica*, and chasing from thence the *Vandoli*, reduced the same to obedience of the Empyre. *Bellisario* also conquered *Sicilia*, & from thence passed into *Italy*, where he surprized *Napoli*, and *Rome*. The *Gotti* receiuing these ouerthrowes, killed their king *Theodato* as the cheife occasion of their misadventure. In his place was chosen *Vitigete*, who after a few conflicts, was by *Bellisario* besieged, and in *Rauenna* takē. Then was *Bellisario* before he had performed the whole victorie by *Iustiniano* reuoked, & to his charge, were appointed *Giouanni* and *Vitale*, men both for vertue and conuersation farre inferiour: wherfore the *Gotti* tooke heart, and created a king called *Eldouado*, who was at that time Gouernour of *Verona*. After him (being within a few daies slaine) *Totila* aspired to the kingdome, and distressed the Emperours armie, recouered *Tosama* and *Napoli*, and brought vnder his obedience, well neare all those states which *Bellisario* had gotten. Wherfore *Iustiniano* thought good to send him again into *Italy*, who being come thither with smal forces, rather lost the reputation he had gotten before, then encreased the same. For *Totila*, as it were before the face of *Bellisario* (who was then with his armie at *Hostia*) besieged *Rome* and tooke it. Then considering with him selfe that he could neither hold it, nor leaue it without daunger, he razed the greatest part of the Citie, driuing the people from thence, and leading away the Senatours as prisoners, which *Bellisario*

The death of
Theodorico.The acts of
Bellisario.The acts of
Totila.

little regarding, marched with his armie vnto *Calauria*, to meete there with souldiers sent in his aide from *Greece*. Thus *Bellisario* seeing *Rome* abandoned, determined with him selfe an honourable enterprise: and entering into the ruines of *Rome*, (with what speed he possibly could) repaired the walles of the citie, & called home the inhabitants. But fortune (as it seemeth) enemy to so laudable an attempt, opposed her selfe. For *Iustiniano* the Emperour at the same time happened to be assaulted by the *Parthi*, and for that cause called home *Bellisario*: hee to obey his master, left *Italy* at the discretion of *Tottila*, who anew possessed *Rome*, but not with so great crueltie as he had before time there vsed. For being entreated by *S. Benedetto*, (of whome in those daies there was holden a great opinion of holines) he endeouored him selfe rather to amend, then marre that citie. In this meane while, *Iustiniano* had concluded a peace with the *Parthi*, & intending to send a new supply into *Italy*, was impeached to performe that intent by a new people of the North called *Sclau*, who hauing passed *Danubio*, assailed *Illiria* and *Thracia*: so as by that meanes *Tottila* got into his hands all *Italy*. But so soone as *Iustiniano* had suppressed the *Sclau*, he sent thither his armie conducted by *Narsete* an Eunuch, who distressed the forces of *Tottila*, & slew him, with the remaine of the *Gotti*. After that ouerthrow, retired to *Pauia*, where they created *Teia* for their King. *Narsete* on the other side, after this victorie, surprized *Rome*, and at the last fought with *Teia*, not farre from the cittie of *Nocira*, slew him, and vanquished his armie. By meane of which victorie, the name of *Gotti*, in *Italy* was clearely extirped, hauing there remained from the reigne of *Theodorico*, vnto *Teia* their Kings, threescore and ten yeares. But so soone as *Italy* was deliuered from the *Gotti*, *Iustiniano* died, leauing *Iustino* his sonne to succeed him, who through counsell of *Sophia* his mother, reuoked *Narsete* from *Italy*, & in his place, sent *Longino* his sonne thither. This *Longino* following the order of his predecessors, inhabited *Rauenna*, & setled in *Italy* a new forme of gouernment, appointing no Gouernours of Prouinces as did the *Cotti*, but created in euerie citie and towne of importance a Chieftaine, whome he called Duke. In which diuision, he allotted no more honour to *Rome*, then to other townes, because he tooke from thence the Consuls and Senate, (which names till that day had bene euer there mainteined) reducing all vnder one Duke, who was yearely sent thither from *Rauenna*, and his gouernment called the *Romane Dukedome*: but the generall Gouernour, who continually remained at *Rauenna* by the Emperours commaundement, and gouerned all *Italy* vnder him, was called *Esarco*. This diuision, made the ruine of *Italy* to be more easie, and gaue opportunitie to the *Longobardi* to vsurpe the same. The gouernment of that country gotten by the vertue and blood of *Narsete*, thus taken from him, & he being also by *Sophia* iniured, reuiled & threatned to be called home and spinne with women, moued him so greatly to chollor and offence, that he perswaded *Alboino* King of the *Lombardi* (who at that time reigned in *Pannonia*) to come into *Italy*, & conquere it. The *Longobardi* beeing (as is aforesaid) entered into those countries neare *Danubio*, who had lately bene abandoned by the *Heruli* and *Turingi*, when by their King *Odoacre* they were led into *Italy*: for a time they there remained. But the kingdome being come to *Alboino* a man couragious & cruel, they passed the riuer *Danubio*, and fought with *Comundo* King of the *Zepedi*, and ouerthrew him in *Pannonia*, which hee then possessed. *Alboino* in this victorie amongst others, happened to take prisoner the daughter of *Comundo*, called *Rosmunda*, married her, and thereby became Lord of *Pannonia*. Then moued by the crueltie of his nature, hee made a cup of her fathers hed, whereof in memorie of the victorie) he vsed to drinke. But then called into *Italy* by *Narsete* (with whome in the warres of the *Gotti* hee had acquaintance and friendship) left *Pannonia* to the

The acts of
Narsete.

The acts of
Longino.

The acts of
Alboino.

Vnni, who after the death of *Attila* (as is aforesaid) were returned into their country. Then he came againe into *Italy*, where finding the same into many partes diuided, sodenly wan *Pauia*, *Millan*, *Verona*, *Vicenza*, all *Toscana*, and the more part of *Flamminia*, now called *Romagna*. So that perswading himselfe through so many and so speedie successes, to haue already (as it were) gotten the victorie of all *Italy*, hee celebrated a solemne feast in *Verona*, whereat, beeing by drinking much, become very merry, and seeing the skull of *Comundo* full of wine, hee caused the same to be presented to the Queene *Rosmunda*, who sat ouer against him at the table (saying vnto her, with so loude a voice that euerie one might heare him) that she should now at this feast drinke with her father: which speech pearced the Lady to the heart, and she forthwith determined to reuenge the same. Then knowing that *Almachilde* (a valiant young gentleman of *Lombardi*) loued a maiden of hers, of whome hee obtained to lie with her, and the Queene beeing priuy to that consent, did her selfe tarry in the place of their meeting, which beeing without light, *Almachilde* came thither, and supposing to haue lien with the mayden, enjoyed the Queene her mistresse, which done, the Queene discovered her selfe and said vnto him, that it was in his power to kill *Alboino*, and possesse her with her kingdome for euer: but if hee refused so to do, shee would procure that *Alboino* should kill him, as one that had abused his wife. To this motion and murder of *Alboino*, *Almachilde* consented. After the murder performed, finding that he could not according to his expectation enioy the kingdome, and fearing to be slaine of the *Lombardes* for the loue they bare to *Alboino*, the Queene and hee taking their princely treasure and iewels, fled to *Longino* at *Rauenna*, who honorably there receiued them. During these troubles, *Iustiniano* the Emperour died, and in his place was elected *Tiberio*, who beeing occupied in the warres against the *Parthi*, could not go to the reliefe of *Italy*. Whereby *Longino* hoped that time would well serue him, with the countenance of *Rosmunda* and helpe of her treasure, to become King of *Lombardy* and all *Italy*. And conferring his intent with the Queene, perswaded her to kill *Almachilde*, and take him for her husband: shee accepted and agreed vnto that which hee perswaded, preparing a cup of wine poisoned, and with her owne hand shee offered the same to *Almachilde*, comming from a bath hote and thristie: hee hauing drunke halfe the wine, and finding his bodie thereby greatly moued, mistrusting the poison, enforced *Rosmunda* to drinke the rest, whereof both the one and the other within fewe houres died, and *Longino* bereft of his expectation to become King. The *Longobardi* in the meane while assembling themselues in *Pauia*, (which was the cheife Cittie of their kingdome) elected there *Clesi* their King, who reedified *Imola*, which had bene ruined by *Narsete*, hee wan *Rimino*, and almost euerie place from thence to *Rome*: but in the midst of these his victories, hee died. This *Clesi* was so cruell, not onely to strangers, but also to his owne subiects the *Longobardi*, as they were so terrified with his kingly authoritie, that after his daies, they determined no more to make a nie King, but elected amongst them selues thirtie persons, whome they called Dukes, giuing them iurisdiction ouer the rest: which was the cause that the *Longobardi* did not proceed in the conquest of all *Italy*, and that their kingdome did not extend further then *Beneucnto*, and that *Rome*, *Rauenna*, *Cremona*, *Mantoua*, *Padoua*, *Monfelicce*, *Parma*, *Bologna*, *Faenza*, *Furli*, and *Cesena*, some of them defended them selues a time, and some other were neuer taken. Because the *Lombardi* wanting a King, their warres proceeded the more slowlie, and after the election of a new King (by reason of their libertie) were lesse obedient and more apt to mutinie among them selues, which thing, first hindered the victorie,

The acts of
Clesi.

The Lombardi refused to be governed by Kings.

At what time
the Bishops of
Rome, aspired
to authoritie.

The remooue
of the Empe-
riall seat from
Rome, the
cause of the
Popes great-
nes.

The East Em-
pyre suppress-
ed in the
reigne of Era-
cleo.

The troubles
of Italy, caused
by the ambiti-
on of Popes.

By what
meanes the
present Prince
of Italy aspi-
red.

victric, and in the end draue them out of *Italy*: The *Longobardi* being come to this estate, the *Romanes* and *Longino* made with them an agreement. The effect thereof was, that euerie one of them should lay downe their armes, and enioy so much as they possessed. In that time the Bishops of *Rome* began to aspire vnto more authoritie then they had in times past: for by meane of the holy life of *S. Peter*, and some other Bishops with their godly examples, and the miracles by them done, they became much reuerenced amongst men, and greatly encreased the christian Religion. In so much as Princes were occasioned (the more easily thereby to appeale the great disorder and confusion of the world) to obey them. The Emperour then being become a Christian and remooued from *Rome* to *Constantinople*, it came to passe (as is aforesaid) that the *Romane* Empyre decayed, and the Church of *Rome* the rather thereby encreased: notwithstanding till the comming of the *Longobardi*, *Italy* being subiect either to Emperours or Kings, the Empyre still prospered: and the Bishops of *Rome* had no greater authoritie then their learning and good life did deserue. For in all other thinges, either by the Kings or by the Emperours, they were commaunded, and as their ministers imploied, and sometimes put to death. But he that made the Bishops to become of greatest authoritie in *Italy*, was *Theodorico* King of the *Gotti*; when he remoued his royall seate to *Rauenna*. For thereby *Rome* remaining without a Prince, the *Romanes* were enforced to yeeld their obedience to the Pope. Yet did not his authoritie thereby greatly encrease, because he could not procure to him selfe more preheminance, then that the Church of *Rome* should haue precedence before the Church of *Rauenna*. But the *Longobardi* being come, and *Italy* diuided into diuerse parts, occasioned the Pope to take the more vppon him: for he, then being as it were chiefe of *Rome*, the Emperour of *Constantinople* and the *Longobardi*, did respect him so much, as the *Romanes* by his meanes, not as subiects, but as companions with the *Longobardi* and with *Longino*, ioyned. Thus the Popes sometimes by the fauour of the *Longobardi*, and sometime with the countenance of the *Grecians*, encreased their dignitie. But after the destruction of the Empyre in the East, (which pappened in the time of the Emperour *Eracleo*) because the people called *Sclauis*, assaulted & conquered againe *Iliria*, calling the same by their owne name *Sclauonia*, the other partes of the Empyre were assailed, first by the *Persians*, and after by the *Sarasins*, who came from *Arabia*, conducted by *Mahomet*: and last of all by the *Turkes*. These people amongst them, possessed *Soria*, *Affrica*, and *Egipt*. So that the Empyre weakened, the Pope dispaired to haue succour there, in time of his necessitie. On the other side, the power of the *Longobardi* encreasing, it behooued him to seeke some new friendship, and for the same resorted to the Kinges of *France*. So as after that time, all the warres made vppon *Italy* by forraine people, were by the Bishops of *Rome* occasioned: and all the barbarous nations, who repaired in so great multitudes to *Italy*, were for the mooste part by them called thither, which manner of proceeding continueth in our dayes, and hath heretofore kept, and yet dooth keepe *Italy* weake and impotent. Therefore in discourse of such thinges as haue happened since those, to these our daies, more shall not be said of the destruction of the Empyre, which is altogether cast downe and ruined. But wee will heerafter discourse by what meanes the Popes and those other Potentates which till the comming of *Carlo* the eight, gouerned *Italy*, haue attained to their greatnes, whereby we shal conceiue, how the Popes first by their censures, after with them, and their armes mixed with indulgences, became terrible & venerable: and how by euill vsing the one & the other, they haue altogether lost the vse of their armes, & in the other, they stand at discretion. But returning to the order of our matter, I say, that *Gregorio* the third, being attained

to the Papacy, & *Aistulpho* to the kingdome of *Lombardy*, contrarie to the agreement afore made, surprized *Rauenna*, and made warre against the Pope *Gregorio*: who (for the occasions aforesaid) not trusting any more to the Emperour of *Constantinople* beeing then weake, neither reposing trust in the *Longobardi*, who had diuerse times distressed him, fled for ayde to *Pipino* the second, who from beeing Lord of *Austracia* and *Brabancia* was become King of *France*: not so much for his owne vertue, as his fathers *Carlo Martello*, and his graundfathers *Pipino*, because *Carlo Martello* beeing Governour of that Kingdome, wonne that memorable victorie against the *Sarasins* neare vnto *Torsci*, vpon the riuer of *Era*: wherein were slaine two hundred thousand *Sarasins*. For which cause *Pipino* his sonne, for the reputation of his father and his owne vertue, became after, king in that kingdome: vnto whome Pope *Gregorio* (as is before said) sent for ayde against the *Longobardi*. *Pipino* answered, that hee was very willing to performe his request, but first desired to see him, and in his presence to honour him. For which purpose *Gregorio* traiailed into *France*, and without any let, passed the townes of the *Longobardi* his enemies: so great reuerence was then borne to that Religion. *Gregorio* arriued in *France*, was there greatly honoured by the King, and sent back accompanied with the Kings forces, who in *Pauia* besieged the *Longobardi*, wherby *Aistulpho* was enforced to make peace with the Frenchmen: which hee did at the request of the Pope, who desired not the death of hisemie, but that hee should conuert and liue. In which peace *Aistulpho* promised to render vnto the Church all those townes thereto belonging, and by him vsurped. But the French souldiers returned home, *Aistulpho* obserued not the conditions of the peace, which beeing knowen to the Pope, hee prayed ayde a new of *Pipino*, who sent againe into *Italy*, where hee ouerthrew the *Lombardy*, tooke *Rauenna*, and contrarie to the will of the Grecian Emperour, gaue the same vnto the Pope, with all other townes vnder his *Escarato*, adding also to them, the countrie of *Vrbino* and *La Marca*: during the time that these townes were in bestowing, *Aistulpho* died; and *Desiderio* a *Lombard* and Duke of *Tuscan* tooke armes to vsurpe the kingdome, and praied ayde of the Pope, to whome hee promised his friendship: which request was graunted, and the other Princes gaue place. *Desiderio* at the beginning kept his promise, and according to the conditions made with *Pipino*, rendred the townes allotted vnto the Pope, neither did the *Escarco* of *Constantinople*, after that time come any more in *Rauenna*, but all things were gouerned according to the pleasure and direction of the Pope. Then died the King *Pipino*; to whome succeeded his sonne called *Carlo*, who for the great and memorable exploits by him done, was called *Magno*. To the Papacy was at that time aspired *Theodoro Primo*. He falling into contention with *Disiderio*, was by *Disiderio* besieged in *Rome*, and constrained to craue ayde of *Carlo*, who speedily passed the mountaines, besieged *Disiderio* in *Pauia*, and tooke him with all his Children. And hauing sent them prisoners into *France*, went in person to visit the Pope at *Rome*, where hee pronounced this sentence, *That the Pope beeing Vicar of God, could not be iudged of men*. For the which, the Pope with the people of *Rome*, created him Emperour. In this manner, *Rome* beganne to haue an Emperour againe in the West. And where the Popes were wont to take their instaulation from the Emperours, after this time the Emperours in their election, would needes take their authoritie from the Pope: wherby the reputation of the Empire decreased, and the Church gained the same. By these meanes, the Popes grew great, and kept downe the authoritie of temporall Princes. The *Longobardi* hauing then bene in *Italy* 232. yeares, there was of them none other marke of straungers then the name: and *Carlo* being desirous to reforme that

Gregorio
tertio.
Pope Theo-
dero primo.

Great honour
done to the
Pope by Carlo
magno, with
indignitie to
the Emperors

Country

Country (in the time of Pope *Leo* the third) was pleased they should inhabit those places, where they were borne, and called that prouince of their name, *Lombardia*. But forasmuch as they had the name of *Rome* in great reuerence, hee commaunded that all the next Countrey to it adioyning (then in the obedience of the *Esarcato* of *Rauenna*) should bee called *Romagna*. Moreouer, he created *Pipino* his sonne King of *Italy*, the iurisdiction whereof extended to *Beneuento*: the rest remained to the Emperour in *Greece*, with whom *Carlo* had concluded a league. About this time *Pascale* the first was become Pope: and the priestes of the parishes in *Rome*, by reason of their nearenesse to the Popes person, and their presence at his election, to honour their authoritie, with a more venerable title beganne to bee called *Cardinals*, taking vnto them great reputation, chiefly after they had excluded the Romanes from the election of the Pope, who (almost euer before that time) was some Citizen of *Rome*. *Pascale* beeing dead, *Eugenio secundo*, of the order of *Santa Sabina*, was elected Pope. And *Italy* beeing then in the handes of French men, did partly alter the order of gouernment, and the more for that the Popes had in the temporalities thereof gained greater authoritie and made Earles and Marqueses, as before time, *Longino Esarco* of *Rauenna* had created Dukes. After a fewe other Bishops, *Osporco* a Romane, aspired to the Papacy; who for the homeliness of his name, caused himselfe to be called *Sergio*: which was the beginning why the names of Popes was chainged at their elections. By this time *Carlo* the Emperour was dead, to whome succeeded *Lodouico* his sonne. After his death, there grew so great contention amongst his sonnes, that in the time of his graund-children, the Empire was taken from the house of *France*, and brought into *Germany*, where the first Emperour of that nation was called *Arnolfo*: and by meanes of these disorders, the family of *Carlo*, did loose not onely the Empire, but also the kingdome of *Italy*, because the *Lombardi* recouered their strength and offended the Pope and Romanes so much, as the Pope not knowing how to bee helped, for necessitie gaue the Kingdome of *Italy* to *Berengario* Duke of *Erieoli*. These accidents encouraged the *Vnni*, who then remained in *Pannonia* to assault *Italy*. But beeing come to triall of battle with *Berengario*, they were vanquished, and forced to returne into *Pannonia*, now called *Vngaria*: which countrey hath euer since reteyned their name. At that time *Romano* Chieftaine of the Emperiall Armie, deposed his maister *Constantino*, and made himselfe Emperour in *Greece*. By reason whereof, *Puglia* and *Calauria* rebelled from the obedience of the Empire; and suffered the *Sarasins* to come thither: who beeing there, and possessing the Countries, attempted to besiege *Rome*. But the Romanes, (because *Berengario* was occupied in the warres against the *Vnni*) made *Albarigo* Duke of *Tuscan* their Captaine, by whose vertue, *Rome* was saued from the *Sarasins*. They beeing departed from the siege, builded a Castle vpon the mountaine called *Gargano*, and from thence they commaunded *Puglia* and *Calauria*, and disturbed the rest of *Italy*. Thus in those dayes *Italy* was maruelously afflicted: towards the *Alpes*, assaulted by the *Vnni*, and towards *Naples*, by the *Sarasins*. In these miseries *Italy* many yeares remained, vnder three Kings of the *Beringarii*, one succeeding an other. In which time, the Pope and the Church were continually molested; and by meanes of diuision of the princes in the West, and the weakenesse of the Emperour in the East, knewe not where to bee succoured. The Cittie of *Genoua*, with all the Riuers thereto belonging, were in those dayes by the *Sarasins* destroyed: whereof came the greatnesse of the Cittie of *Pisa*, for thither manie people fled for refuge. This happened in the yeare of the Christian religion, nine hundreth thirtie and one.

But

Pope Pascale 1.

Originall of Cardinals, by Pope Pascale 1.

The first occasion why the Popes did take new names at their election.

At what time the Empire was taken from the house of France.

The kingdom of Italy, giuen to Berengario.

But *Ottone* sonne of *Enrico* and *Matilda* Duke of *Saxony* (a man exceeding wise & of great reputation) being become Emperour, *Agabito* then Pope, praied him to come into *Italy*, and saue him from the tyrannie of the *Berengarii*. The states of *Italy* were in those daies thus disposed. *Lombardy* was vnder *Berengario* the third, and his sonne *Alberto*. *Toscana* and *Romagna*, were gouerned by the deputies of the Emperour in the West. *Puglia* & *Calauria*, partly to the Emperour in *Greece*, and partly to the *Saracins* obeyed. In *Rome* were elected yearly of the nobilitie two Consuls, who according to the auncient custome ruled that Citie. Vnder them was appointed a Iudge to minister iustice to the people. There was also a councell of twelue men, which gaue gouernours to the townes subiect vnto *Rome*. The Pope had in *Rome* more or lesse authoritie; according to the fauour hee found with the Emperours, or others, that were there most mightie. Then came the Emperour *Ottone* into *Italy*, and tooke the kingdome thereof from the *Berengarii*: who therein had raigned, fiftie five yeares, and therewith had restored the Pope to his dignitie. This Emperour had one sonne, and one nephew; both also named *Otoni*, the one and the other of them succeeded in the Empire. In the raigne of *Ottone* the third, Pope *Gregorio quinto*, was by the Romanes driuen out, and *Ottone* came into *Italy*, to put him again into the possession of *Rome*. The Pope then to be reuenged of the Romanes, tooke frō them the authoritie of creatiō of the Emperour, & gaue the same to the Germanes, appointing three Bishops of *Maguntia*, *Treueri*, & *Colonia*: & three secular Princes; the Marques of *Brandenburge*, the Earle *Palatine* of the *Rhein*, & the Duke of *Sassonia* to be electors, which constitution was made in the yeare 1002. After the death of *Ottone* the third, *Enrico* Duke of *Bauiera*, was by these electors, made Emperour, and after twelue yeares, by Pope *Stephano* the eight crowned. This *Enrico* and *Simonda* his wife, were persons of most godly life, as appeareth by diuerse churches by them builded and endowed. Amongst which number was the temple of *S. Miniato*, neare to the Citie of *Florence*: *Enrico* died in the yeare 1023. After whom raigned *Currado* of *Sueuia*, and after him *Eurico* the secōd, who came into *Italy*, & the church thē being in schisme, found there, three Popes: all whom he deposed, & caused *Clemente secundo* to be elected, & of him was he crowned Emperour. In those dayes *Italy* was gouerned, partly by the people, partly by the Princes, & partly by the ministers of the Emperour: of whō, the chiefe was called Chancelor. Amōg the Princes *Gotfredi*, & the Countesse *Matilda* his wife, borne of *Beatrice* sister to *Enrico* the second, were most potent: for she and her husband possessed *Lucca*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, and *Mantoua*, with all that countrey at this day called *Patrimonio*. The ambition of the people of *Rome*, did at that time make much warre with the Popes: for they, hauing helped the Pope to driue out the Emperours, and reformed the Citie as to them seemed good, sodeinly became enemies to him. And the Popes receiued more iniuries at their hands, thē at any other Christian Princes. And euen in those dayes when the censure of the Popes made all the West of the world to tremble, yet euen then, the people of *Rome* rebelled. And both the Popes, and the people studied for nothing so much, as how one of them, might ouerthrow the authoritie and estimation of the other. *Nicholao secundo* being aspired to the Papacy, tooke from the Romanes the creation of the Pope, as his predecessour *Gregorio quinto*, had before taken from them, the election of the Emperour, hee made also a constitution that the election of the Popes should from thencefoorth appertaine to the Cardinals. Neither was he so contented, but compounding with some Princes that then gouerned *Calauria* and *Puglia* (for such reasons as shall be hereafter declared) constrained all the officers appointed by the Romanes, to yeeld their obedience to the Popes, and remooued some of them from their offices. After the death of *Nicholao*, there happened a schisme in the church, because the Clergie of *Lombardy* would

How Italy was
gouerned.
Anno. 931.

The election
of the Empe-
rour giuen to
the Germanes.
Ann. 1002.

Three Popes
deposed by
Enrico 2.

The Romanes
auncient ene-
mies to the
Pope.

The creation
of the Pope
taken frō the
Romanes.

The originall
of the Guelfi,
and Gibellini.
An. 1080.

Rome sacked.

The discent
of the kings
of Napoli.

would not obey *Alexander* the second, elected at *Rome*, but created *Gadalo* of *Parma* Antipope. *Enrico*, hating the greatnesse of these Bishops, sent vnto the Pope *Alessandro*, requiring him to religne the Papacy, & command the Cardinals to go into *Germany*, there to elect a new Pope. This *Enrico* was the first Prince that felt the force of spirituall displeasure. For the Pope called a new counsaile in *Rome*, whereat he deprivied him from the empire and kingdome. After that time, some people of *Italy* followed the Pope, and some the Emperour, which was the beginning of the factions who called themselves *Guelfi* and *Gibellini*. Thus *Italy* deliuered from forreine inuasion, by ciuill discord began to be tormented. *Enrico* being excommunicate, was by his owne people constrained to come to *Rome* on barefoote, and kneele to the Pope for pardon. Which happened in the yeare 1080. Notwithstanding shortly after, there happened a new discord betwixt the Pope & *Enrico*. Whereupon the Pope againe did excommunicate the Emperour, who sent forthwith his son (also called *Enrico*) with an army to *Rome*. He with the helpe of the Romanes (who hated the Pope) besieged him in his castle, till *Roberto Guiscardo* came from *Puglia* to the rescue. *Enrico* tarried not his comming, but returned alone into *Germany*. The Romanes persisted in their obstinacie: so that *Rome* was againe by *Roberto* sacked and brought vnto the former ruine, notwithstanding it had bene lately by diuerse Popes repaired. And because of this *Roberto* the kings of *Naples* be descended, it seemeth not superfluous particularly to set downe his actions and discent. After the disunion happened among the heires of *Carlo Magno*, (as haue bene before declared) the same occasioned a new people of the North, called *Normandi* to assaile *France*, and conquered that country, which is called of them, *Normandia*: of those people, some part came into *Italy*, in the time that the *Berengarit*, *Saraseni* and *Vnni* troubled the same. They also tooke some townes in *Romagna*, which warres, they vertuously performed. Of those *Normaine* princes, one called *Tancredi*, begot diuerse sonnes: amongst whom was *Guglielmo* surnamed *Tera-bar*, and *Roberto* called *Guiscardo*. The principallitie being come to *Guglielmo*, and the tumults of *Italy* somewhat ceased, the *Saraseni* did notwithstanding still hold *Sicilia*, and continually made rodes vpon the land of *Italy*. For which cause, *Guglielmo* agreed with the prince of *Capoua* and *Salerno*, and with *Melorco* the Greeke, (who gouerned *Puglia* and *Calauria* for the Emperour of *Greece*) to assault *Sicilia*, and after victorie, it was condescended amongst them, to diuide the places victored, by foure parts. This enterprize had fortunate successe, and the *Saraseni* driuen out, they possessed *Sicilia*. After which victorie *Melorco* secretly caused men to come from *Grecia*, and for the Emperour tooke possession of the whole Iland, not diuiding the spoyle, but tooke all to his owne share, wherewith *Guglielmo* became discontented, yet hiding his offence till a time more conuenient, departed from *Sicilia* with the princes of *Salerno*, and *Capoua*: who being departed vpon the way homewards, *Guglielmo* returned not to *Romagna*, but with his souldiers marched towards *Puglia*, where he wonne *Melfi*. And shortly after (notwithstanding the forces of the Grecian Emperour) he possessed well neare all *Puglia* and *Calauria*. In which prouinces, he gouerned in the time of *Nicholao secundo*. *Roberto Guiscardo* his brother, hauing many differents with his nephewes, for the inheritance of land, vsed the authoritie of the Pope, to compound them. And the Pope did willingly fauour him, being desirous to haue the friendship of *Roberto*, to the end that against the Emperours of *Germany*, and the people of *Rome*, he might be defended, as in effect, it fell after out, and hath bene already declared, how at the request of *Gregorio septimo*, he draue *Enrico* from the siege of *Rome*, & subdued the people therein. To *Roberto* succeeded *Ruggero* and *Guglielmo*, his sonnes. To their possessions he annexed *Napoli*, and all those lands which lie betweene *Napoli* and *Rome*. He gaue also *Sicilia* vnto *Ruggero*. But *Guglielmo* going afterwards to *Constantinople*

Constantinople to marry the Emperours daughter, was by *Ruggero* deprived of his Country. *Ruggero* after this victorie became insolent, and called himselfe king of *Italy*: yet after contented with the title of King of *Puglia* and *Sicilia*, was the first that gaue name and lawe to that kingdome, which to this day within the auncient boundes thereof, is mainteined. Notwithstanding it hath many times exchanged both blood and Nation. Because the race of *Normandie* beinge worne out, the Kingdome came to the handes of the Germanes, from them, to the French men, from the French to the *Aragonesi*, and at this day it is possessed by the Flemmings. Now was *Vrbano* the second, become Pope *Vrbano* no. 2. who beinge hated in *Rome*, and fearing through the disuniting of *Italy*, he could not in securitie there remaine: determined a glorious enterprife. First hee went into *France*, accompanied with all his Clergie, and in the citie of *Anuersa*, he assembled many people: to whom he made a solemne Oration, wherein he perswaded an enterprife against the *Saraceni*, which tooke so great effect, as the people were desirous to performe the same; which enterprife (with all others to that purpose) were called *Crociata*. For all those men that went in that iourney, weare vppon their Armour and garments, a redde Crosse. The princes and chiefe leaders of that enterprife, were *Gotfredi Eustachio*, and *Alduino di Bulgo*, Earle of *Bologna*, with one *Pietro* an Hermit: who for his godlie life and wisdom was greatly respected. To this iourney, manie Kinges contributed treasure, and manie priuate men without paie, therein personally serued. So great effectes did the religion worke in those dayes, to perswade the mindes of men, moued with the example of such as were their heads. This enterprife had in the beginninge glorious successe: for all *Asia minor*, *Soria*, and part of *Egipt*, were therein conquered by the Christians. At which time beganne the order of Knighthood of *Ierusalem*, which to this day continueth, and is the chiefe obstacle to the Turkes. About that time also grew the order of the Knights, *Templarii*: which for their euil life was shortly after suppressed. In diuerse times following, diuerse accidents happened: wherein many nations and many particuler men were aduanced. For the furnishing of this enterprife, the Kinges of *Fraunce* and *England*, the *Pisani*, *Venetians*, and *Genouesi*, passed the sea, and gained great reputation, fighting in fortune variable, till the time of *Saladino* the *Saracine*: whose vertue (the rather through discord of the Christians) did in the ende recouer all, that before had bene gotten. So were the Christians after foure score and tenne yeares driuen out of those Countries, which with great honour and happinesse they had wonne and defended. After the death of *Vrbano*, *Pascale secundo* was created Pope: and *Enrico* the fourth became Emperour, who went to *Rome*, pretending friendship to the Pope, but beinge arriued there, by force hee tooke the Pope prisoner, and put him with all his Clergie in prison: from whence they could not be discharged, till the Pope had graunted, that the Emperour might dispose of the Churches in *Germany* as himselfe thought good. Then died the Countesse *Matilda*, and made the Church heire of all her Countrey. After the death of *Pascale* and *Enrico* the fourth, succeeded diuerse Popes, and diuerse Emperours, till at length, to the Papacie was elected *Alessandro tertio*, and to the Empire, *Federigo Sueno* called *Barbarossa*. The popes in that time had manie quarrelles with the people of *Rome*, and the Emperours: which were encreased in the raigne of *Barbarossa*. *Federigo* was a man of warre most excellent, but therewith so haughtie of minde and courage, as hee disdained to giue place to the pope, notwithstanding, hee came to *Rome* to be crowned Emperour, and peaceably returned into *Germanie*: though hee remayned there not very long

Pope Vrbano no. 2.

La Crociata.

The originall of knights of Ierusalem.

Pope Pascale

Pope Alessandro no. 3.

long contented, For shortly after, he came againe into *Italy* to reforme some Townes in *Lombardy*, which would not obey him. At that time it happened, the Cardinal of *S. Clement*, by Nation a *Romane*, deuided himselfe from the Pope *Alissandro*, & found meanes (by fauour of some Cardinalls) to be also chosen Pope. At that instant, *Federigo* the Emperour was with his Armie before the Citie of *Crema*: to whom *Alissandro* complained of the Antipope; the Emperour answered, that both he and the Antipope should come vnto him, and then he would decide their controuersie, and iudge which of them were true Pope. This answer displeased *Alissandro*, who conceauing thereby, that the Emperour was inclined to fauour the Antipope, did excommunicate him, and fled to *Phillip* King of *Fraunce*. *Federigo* in the meane while, proceeding in the Warres of *Lombardy*, tooke *Millan*, and razed it: which was the cause, that *Verona*, *Padoua*, and *Vicenza* (by common consent) determined to resist him. Then died the Antipope, in whose place *Federigo* created *Guido* of *Cremona*. The *Romanes* by meanes of the Popes absence, and the busines of the Emperour in *Lombardy*, had recouered a little authoritie in *Rome*, & began to command some Townes vnder them: and because the *Tusculani* would not yeeld to their authoritie, they went popularly to assaile them; who being aided by *Federigo*, the *Romanes* were ouerthrowne with so great slaughter, as after that Ouertrow *Rome* was neuer well peopled, nor rich. In this meane space, Pope *Alissandro* was returned to *Rome*, perswading himselfe that through the enmitie of the *Romanes* and *Federigo*, he might there safely remaine: and the rather, by reason of the Enemies which the Emperour had in *Lombardy*. Neuertheles, *Federigo* (setting aside all respectes) besieged *Rome*: where *Alissandro* tarried not his comming, but fled to *Gulielmo* King of *Puglia*, who after the death of *Ruggiero* remained Heire of that Kingdome. *Federigo* driuen thence by the Plague, left the Siege, and returned into *Germany*. The Townes of *Lombardy* which were rebelled, to the end they might the rather recouer *Pavia* & *Tortona*, (which stood for the Emperour) built a new Cittie, to be the refuge of that Warre, calling the same *Alissandria*, in honour of the Pope *Alissandro*, and in despite of the Emperour *Federigo*. Then died *Guidone* Antipope: in whose place *Giouanni* of *Fermo* was created. He, through the fauour of the Emperours Faction in *Montefiascone*, there dwelled: Pope *Alissandro* in the meane time was gone into *Tuscolo*, called thither by that People; hoping that with his authoritie he might defend them from the *Romanes*. Thither came Embassadors from *Enrico* King of *England*, to declare vnto the Pope, that their King was not culpable in the murther of *Thomas* Bishop of *Canterbury*, as he had bene publicquely slandered. For triall whereof, the Pope sent two Cardinals into *England*, to examine the truth of that matter: who found the King not guiltie. Neuertheles, in respect of the infamie, and that he had not honoured that holy Man according to his desert; they enioyned the King for penance to assemble his Nobilitie, and in their presence to swear and protest his innocencie: and was moreouer commanded, that with all speed, he should at his proper charge send two hundred Souldiers to *Ierusalem*, and there paye them for one yeare; and himselfe within three yeares to goe thither in person, and lead with him an Armie the greatest that hee could possibly make: besides that, hee should disanull all things done within his Kingdome, to the preiudice of the Libertie Ecclesiasticall; and consent, that all and euerie Subiect of his might appeale to *Rome*. All which things *Enrico* graunted: and notwithstanding hee were a mightie King, submitted himselfe to that Iudgement, which (at this day) euerie private man would be ashamed to yeeld vnto. But notwithstanding the Popes great power ouer Princes farre off, yet could he not make himselfe obeyed of the *Romanes*: by whom hee was not suffered to dwell at *Rome*, though he promised not to intermeddle in any thing; faue

The King of
England put
to penance by
Pope Alissan-
dro.

saue only the Ecclesiasticall gouernment. Hereby may be noted, that things vvhich seeme to bee, and be not, are dreaded more farre of, then feared neare at hand. By this time, *Federigo* vvas returned to *Italy*, and being prepared to make nevv vvarres vwith the Pope, all his prelates and Barons gaue him to vnderstand, that they intended to leaue him, vnlesse he reconciled himselfe to the church: vvheryby this Emperour vvas constrained to go vnto *Venice*, and there to adore the pope; vvheryof ensued a full pacification. In this peace the pope deprived the Emperour of all his authoritie in *Rome*, and named *Gulielmo* king of *Sicilia* and *Puglia* for his confederate. *Federigo* not content to liue in peace, but louing the warres, determined to enterprise *Asia*, & so gain glory against *Mahomet*, which against the Pope he could not. But being arriued at the riuer *Cidno*, enticed with the excellencie of that water, hee washed himself therein, & sodenly died. Wherby may be imagined that water did more good to the *Mahumetans*, then the popes excomunicatiō to the Christians: because the excomunicatiō did only allay the Emperours ambitiō, but this water did vterly quench it. *Federigo* being dead, it remained onely for the pope to reforme the disobedience of the Romans: & after many disputations touching the creation of the Consuls, it was agreed, that (according to the ancient custom) they shuld be elected by the Romans: yet before they tooke their office vppon them, they should sweare fidelitie to the church; which agreement, caused *Giouanni* the Antipope to flie to *Monte Albano*, where shortly after hee died. Then died also *Gulielmo* king of *Napoli*, who hauing one onely sonne called *Tancredi*, the pope determined to take that kingdome from him, but the nobilitie thereof would not consent to the pope, resolving to yeelde their obedience to *Tancredi*. At that time *Celestino tertio* was pope, who desirous to take the kingdome from *Tancredi*; sought meanes that *Enrico* sonne of *Federigo* should be made Emperour, and promised him the kingdome of *Naples*, vpon condition that he should restore vnto the church all those townes thereunto belonging. And to make that action the more easie, hee tooke out of a monastery, *Costanza* an olde woman, daughter of *Gulielmo*, and married her vnto *Federigo*. Thus passed the kingdome of *Naples* to the Germaines from the *Normands*, who were the ancient founders thereof. So soone as *Enrico* the Emperour had settled all thinges in *Germany*, hee came into *Italy*, accompanied with *Costanza* his wife, and his sonne, but foure yeares old, called *Federigo*. Where, with some difficultie (because *Tancredi* was dead, leauing onely a litle sonne called *Rogeri*) he possessed the kingdome. Within a small time after in *Sicilia* died *Enrico*, to whome *Federigo* succeeded in the kingdome, and to the Empire was elected *Ottone* Duke of *Sassonia*, through fauour of pope *Innocentio quarto*. But so soone as he was crowned Emperour, contrary to all expectation, hee became enemie to the pope, surprised *Romagna*, and prepared to assault the kingdome. For which dooing, the pope did excommunicate him, all other men left him, and the electors created *Federigo* king of *Napoli*. Then came *Federigo* to *Rome* for the crowne, but the pope fearing his greatnesse, denied him, and sought to remooue him out of *Italy*, as hee had done before to *Ottone*. Therewith *Federigo* offended, went into *Germany*, and made much vvarre against *Ottone*, and at length ouerthrevv him. In the meane vvhile died *Innocentio*, vvhose (besides other his notable vvorkes) builded the Hospitall of *Santo Spirito* in *Rome*. After him succeeded *Honorio tertio*, in vvhosetime, beganne the orders of *Santo Dominico* and *Francisco*, the year 1218. This pope crownded *Federigo*, vnto vvhome *Giouanni* descended of *Bauldouino* king of *Ierusalem*, vvhose (vvith the remaine of the Christians in *Asia* still possessed that title) gaue his kingdome to his daughter in marriage. Hereof it commeth, that vvho so euer is King of *Napoli*, is also intituled king of *Ierusalem*. *Italy* in those dayes vvas thus gouerned. The Romaynes made no more

The death of
Federigo the
Emperor.

Pope Celestino
no 3.

Pope Innocentio
4.

Pope Honorio
3. creator of
the order of
S. Francisco
Anno 1218.

more Consuls in *Rome*, but in steed of them, they created (with the same authoritie) sometimes one, & sometime more Senators. The league which the cities of *Lombardy* had made against *Federigo Barbarossa*, still continued. The Cities confedered against the Emperour, were *Milano*, *Brescia*, *Mantoua*, with the greater part of *Romagna*: and with them *Verona*, *Vicenza*, *Padoua*, and *Treuiigi*. On the Emperours part, were *Cremona*, *Bargamo*, *Parma*, *Reggio*, *Modena*, & *Trento*. The other Cities and Castles of *Lombardy*, *Romagna*, and *La Marca Treuigiiana*, according to their necessitie, fauoured sometimes the one, and sometimes the other part. In the time of *Ottone* the third, came into *Italy* a man called *Ezelino*, of whom remained one sonne, who likewise begot another *Ezelino*, he being rich & mightie, solowed *Federigo* the secōd, who was (as hath bene before said) enemy to the Pope. This Emperour brought into *Italy*, by the fauour of *Ezelino*, tooke *Verona* and *Mantoua*, razed *Vicenza*, surprized *Padoua*, & vanquished the army of the townes confederate: & in the end, marched towards *Toscana*. *Ezelino* in the meane time, surprized *La Marca Triuigiiana*, but he could not take *Ferrara*, being defended by *Azone* of *Este*, & other soldiers sent by the Pope frō *Lombardy*. The siege then leuied, the Pope gaue that citie in *Feudo* to *Azone* of *Este*, of whome be descended all those princes, that till this day haue there gouerned. *Federigo* staid at *Pisa*, & being desirous to become Lord of *Toscana*, the rather to possesse the same, & discover those that fauoured him, from the other that were his enemies, practised diuision among the people of the country, which was afterwards the ruine of all *Italy*. Because then the factions of *Guelfi* & *Ghibellini* encreased, calling them *Guelfi* that followed the Pope, and *Ghibellini* that followed the Emperour. In *Pistoia*, these names of faction, were first begun. *Federigo* leauing *Pisa*, by many meanes assaulted & spoiled the townes belonging to the church: Insomuch, that the Pope not hauing other remedie, proclaimed his *Crociata* against him, as did his predecessours against the *Saraceni*. *Federigo* then fearing to be abandoned by his souldiers (as *Federigo Barbarossa* and other Emperours had bene) entertained great numbers of *Saracens*, and to make them more willing to serue (knowing that they feared not the Popes curses) he gaue them the citie of *Nocera* in the kingdome: perswading himselfe, that they hauing that refuge, might serue him with the more securitie. *Innocentio quarto* became Pope, and mistrusting *Federigo*, went to *Genoua*, and from thence into *France*: and called a Councell at the citie of *Lions*. Whereunto *Federigo* determined to goe, but was withholden by the rebellion of *Parma*: from which enterprise repulsed, he went into *Toscana*, and thence, into *Sicilia*, where he died, leauing in *Sucua* his eldest sonne *Corrado*, and in *Puglia* his other sonne, (being base borne) called *Manfredi*, whom hee had made Duke of *Beneuento*. *Corrado* beeing come for possession of the kingdome, arriued at *Napoli*, and there died, leauing one litle sonne called *Curradino*: who at that time remained in *Germany*. Then *Manfredi* first as gouernour to *Curradino*, and after reporting that *Curradino* was dead) against the Popes will, & the *Neapolitans* also (whom he forced to consent) made himselfe king. During these troubles in the kingdome, happened many quarrels betweene the factions of *Guelfi* and *Ghibellini*, the one being fauoured by the Popes Legate, and the other by *Ezelino*, who possessed welneare all *Lombardy*, on the other side of the riuer *Po*. And because in this warre, the citie of *Padoua* rebelled, *Ezelino* put to death twelue thousand Cittizens thereof, and he himselfe before the end of the warre, being then thirtie yeares of age, was slaine. After his death, all the townes by him possessed became free. *Manfredi* king of *Napoli*, according to the custome of his auncestors, continued enemy to the church, holding the Pope (called *Vrbano quarto*) in continuall distresse: in so much as the Pope proclaymed the *Crociata* against him; which done, hee went vnto *Perugia*, where hee remained, aspecting his souldiers... Who (comming thither

Ezelino.

Azone de Este
first Duke of
Ferrara.The Emperour
forced to en-
tertaine Sara-
cens.Pope Inno-
cent 4.The death of
Ezelino.Pope Vrba-
no 4.

thither slowly and in small numbers) thought that to vanquish *Manfredi*, those forces were not sufficient. He therefore praied aide in *France*, of *Carlo* Duke of *Angio*, brother to king *Lodouico*, creating him king of *Sicilia*, and *Napoli*, desiring him to come into *Italy*, & take possession of those kingdomes. But before *Carlo* could come to *Rome*, that Pope died, and *Clemente quarto* elected. In whose time, *Carlo* with thirtie gallies came to *Ostia*, appointing the rest of his army to march thither by land. During his aboad in *Rome*, the Romanes to honour him, made him a Senator of *Rome*, and the Pope inuested him in the kingdome, with condition he should paie yearely fiftie thousand florines to the church. The Pope also decreed, that neither *Carlo*, nor none of his successours in that kingdome, should euer be elected Emperours. *Carlo* then went on in his iourney against *Manfredi*, whom he vanquished and slew, neare to *Beneuento*, whereby hee possessed *Sicilia*, and the kingdome. Notwithstanding *Curradino*, to whome by testament of his father that kingdome appertained, assembling great forces in *Germany*, came into *Italy* against *Carlo*, and fought with him at *Tagliacozzo*, where he was ouerthrowne; and being disguised, fled: yet afterwards was taken, and slain. *Italy* then continued quiet, till the raigne of *Adriano quinto*, at which time, *Carlo* dwelling in *Rome*, and governing there by the office of Senator, the Pope could not endure his authoritie, and therefore vvent to inhabit at *Viterbo*: from thence he sent vnto *Ridolpho* the Emperour, desiring him to come into *Italy* against *Carlo*. Thus the Popes sometimes for loue of religion, and sometimes for their owne ambition, ceased not to call into *Italy* newe men, and stirre vp newe warres. For so soone as any prince was by them made mightie, repenting the same, they practised his ouerthrow. Neither would they suffer that anie should possesse that Countrey, which themselues (through their weakenesse) could not. Yet did the Princes alwaies feare them, because either by fighting or flying, they preuailed: if they were not by some practise oppressed, as was *Bonifacio octauo*, and some others who were taken by colour of friendship, which the Emperours to them pretended. *Ridolpho* came not into *Italy*, beeing withholden with his warres against the King of *Bohemia*. In the meane time died *Adriano*, and in his place was created *Nicholao tertio*, descended of the house of *Orsini*, a man verie bolde and ambitious. Hee by all meanes possible sought to diminish the authoritie of *Carlo*: and deuised that *Ridolpho* the Emperour should complaine, that *Carlo* mainteined a gouernour in *Toscana* in fauour of the *Guelfi*. *Carlo* gaue credite vnto the Emperour, and reuoked thence his gouernour. And the Pope forthwith sent thither one of his nephewes a Cardinall, to be gouernour for the Empire. So that the Emperour for this honor done vnto him by the Pope, restored *Romagna* vnto the Church, which by his auncestors had bene taken away. The Pope then created *Bertoldo Orsino*, Duke of *Romagna*. And imagining himselfe mightie inough to shewe his face to *Carlo*, tooke from him the office of Senator: and made a decree, that no man descended of royall race, should after possesse that dignitie. He had also deuised to take *Sicilia* from *Carlo*, and practised with *Piero* king of *Aragon*: which practise in the time of his successour tooke effect. He intended moreouer, to make two new kings of his owne house, the one in *Lombardy*, the other in *Tuscan*: whose powers might defend the church, both from the Germanes that would attempt to come into *Italy*, and from the French men, who were alreadie in *Napoli*. But with this determination, he died. And was the first Pope, that openly manifested his own ambition; practising (vnder colour to make the church great) to honour and enrich his owne kindred. For as before this time, no mention was made of the aduancement of Popes kinsfolkes or posteritie, so afterwards, euery historie doth shew, that the Popes haue studied for nothing more, then how to aduance their owne blood.

Pope Clement 4.

Pope Adriano 5.

The ambition of Popes, a ruine to Italy.

Pope Adriano 3.

Pope Martino
3.

Pope Celesti-
no and Boni-
facio 8.

Pope Boni-
facio inuentor
of the Guibi-
leo.

And as heretofore they haue laboured to make them princes, so (if it were in their power) they would now procure the Papacy to be heritable. Yet true it is, that hitherto all principalities by them erected, haue had no long being, for so soone as that Pope (who ordeined their aduancement) did faile, the honour of the person aduanced, decayed with him. Then *Martino tertio* became Pope, who being a French man, fauoured *Carlo*, and in his aide, sent souldiers vnto *Romagna* which then rebelled. And his campe being before *Furly*, *Guido Bonati* (a man learned in *Astrologie*) perswaded the people, that so soone as hee gaue them a token, they should presently assault their enemies, which they did, & in that victory, al the French mē were takē & slain. About this time, the practise of *Nicolao tertio* with *Piero* King of *Aragon*, was put in execution. By meanes whereof, the people of *Sicilia* murdered all the French men that could be found in that Iland: which done, King *Piero* tooke possession, alledging, that hauiing married *Gostanza* daughter of *Manfredi*, that country to him appertained. *Carlo* preparing for a new war to recouer his losse, died: leauing one sonne called *Carlo* the second. Who being taken prisoner in the war of *Sicilia*, and desirous of libertie, promised to returne to prison, if within three yeares he could not obtaine of the Pope, that the house of *Aragon* should be inuested to the kingdome of *Sicilia*. *Ridolpho* the Emperour, intending to haue come into *Italy*, and recouered the reputation of the Empire, came not, but sent thither an Embassador with authoritie to giue freedome to all those cities, which would buy the same at his hands: as many did, & with their libertie, chaunged also their maner of liuing. Then succeeded to the Empire *Adulpho* of *Sassonia*, & to the Papacy *Pietro Murone*, named Pope *Celestino*: who being an Hermit and full of deuotion, within seuen moneths resigned the Papacy, and *Bonifacio Octauo* was elected. The heauens knowing a time would come, when *Italy* should be deliuered, both from the French men and Almaines, & that the country might be recouered wholly in possession of Italians, to the end the Pope failing of straungers, might not be able to hold his reputation, caused two mightie families to arise in *Rome*. The one called *Orsini*, the other *Colonna*: whose power and nearenesse, might keep downe the Popes from aspiring. The Pope *Bonifacio* aware therof, practised to extirpate the *Colonna*, & did for that purpose not onely excommunicate them, but also against them published the *Crociata*. Which proceeding, although it somewhat offended them, yet did it much more offend the church: because those swords which in defence of the faith had vertuously preuailed, being employed for priuate ambition against the Christians, became blunt: and so the Popes desire to enforce the minds of others, wrought a contrary effect, and by litle & litle disarmed themselues. This Pope did also depose two Cardinals of that house of *Colonna*, and the chiefe of them called *Sciarra*, disguised himselfe, and fled. Afterwards being taken by Pirates, was made a slaue in a galley, til arriued at *Marsilia*, was there by fortune knowne, redeemed, and sent into *France* to King *Philippo*, who had bene excommunicate, & deprived of his kingdom by *Bonifacio*. *Philippo* considering with himselfe, that to make warres with the Pope, either he was not strong inough, or should therin aduenture great dangers: determined to worke by practise, & pretending to procure peace with the Pope, sent secretly *Sciarra* into *Italy*, who being come to *Anagnia*, where the Pope then was, with the aide of friends in the night tooke him. And albeit the people of that towne did shortly after deliuer him, yet of verie melancholly and sorrovv, the Pope distraught of his vvits, died. This *Bonifacio* vvas he that ordeined the *Iubilie*, in the yeare 1300. and commanded that euery hundreth yeare, the same should be so solemnized. After that time happened many troubles betweene the factions of *Guelfi* & *Ghibellini*. And by reason that *Italy* vvas abandoned by the Emperors, many towns became free, and many others by tyrants possessed. Pope *Benedetto* restored the Hat

to the Cardinals *Colonesi*, and absolued *Philippo* the French King. To him succeeded *Clemente quinto*, vvho being a French man, remoued his court into *France* in the year 1306. In the meane space *Carlo* the second King of *Napoli*, died. To that kingdom succeeded *Robarto* his sonne: and to the Empire, *Arrigo* of *Lucemburgh*: who notwithstanding the absence of the Pope from *Rome*, vvent thither to be crowned. By meane of that iourney, grevv many troubles in *Lombardy*, because all those that had bene banished, either *Guelfi* or *Ghibellini* vvere admitted to returne to their townes, and there being, made so great quarrels among themselues, as the Emperour vvith all his power could not appease. The Emperour then departed from *Lombardy* to *Genoua*, and so to *Pisa*, vvhere he practised to take *Toscana* from the king *Robarto*. But hauing no successe, vvent on to *Rome*, vvhere he remained not long, being driuen out by the *Orsini*, and the friends of king *Robarto*. Then returned he to *Pisa*, vvhere he deuised (for his better proceeding in the vvvars of *Toscana*, and the rather also to remooue king *Robarto* from his gouernment) that *Federigo* king of *Sicilia* should assault those countries. But at such time, as hee hoped at one instant) to performe both those enterprises, he died: and *Lodouico* of *Bauiera*, was chosen Emperour. In this meane space, was created *Giouanni* 22. In vvhoose dayes the Emperour ceased not to persecute the *Guelfi*, and the church vvich vvvas chiefly defended by king *Robarto*, and the *Florentines*. Wherof grew great vvarre in *Lombardy*, by the *Visconti*, against the *Guelfi*, and in *Toscana*, by *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, against the *Florentines*. And because the family of *Visconti*, vvvas that vvvhich beganne the Dukedome of *Milan* (one of the fiue principallities that gouerned *Italy*) I thinke good more at large hereafter to intreate of them. After that the league of the cities of *Lombardy* vvvas concluded, (as hath bene before said) and they resolved to defend themselues from *Federigo Barbarossa*: *Milan* also being repaired of the ruines, conspired vvith those cities of the league, to be reuenged of former iniuries. Which league brided *Barbarossa*, and for a time gaue countenance to the faction of the church then in *Lombardy*. During these vvarres, the house of *Torre* grevv to great reputation, so long as the Emperours had in that country small authoritie. But vvhen *Federigo* the second, vvvas come into *Italy*, and the *Ghibellini* (through the helpe of *Ezelino*) became strong, the humour of *Ghibellini* sprung vp in euery citie, and the house of *Visconti*, taking part vvith that factiō, chased out of *Milan* the family of *Torre*: yet vvvere they not long out, but by meane of a peace concluded betvvixt the Emperour and the Pope, hee vvith his Court beeing in *France*, and *Arrigo* of *Lucimburg* going to *Rome* for the Crowne, vvvas receiued into *Milan*, by *Maffeo Visconti*, and *Guido della Torre*, vvho at that time vvvere chiefe of those houses: yet *Maffeo* intending by helpe of the Emperour to driue *Guido* out of the Citie, and supposing that enterprise the more likely, because *Guido* vvvas in faction contrary to the Empire: hee tooke occasion vvpon the complaints of the people against the euil demeanor of the *Germaines*, slyly perswading and encouraging euery man to take Armes, and deliuer themselues from the seruitude of that barbarous nation. And vvhen all things vvvere made ready, he caused a secret minister of his to mooue a tumult. Wheratt, all the people tooke Armes against the name of *Germany*, and *Maffeo* vvith his sonnes and followers, suddenly armed, vvvent to *Arrigo*, letting him vvnderstand, that this tumult proceeded from those of the house of *Torre*: vvho not contented to liue priuate in *Milan*, tooke occasion to spoyle him, gratifie the *Guelfi* of *Italy*, and make themselues princes of that citie. Notvvithstanding, hee perswaded the Emperour to be of good cheare, for they and their followers vvould in euery respect saue and defend him. *Arrigo* beleued all that vvvhich *Maffeo* had spoken, & ioyning his forces vvith the *Visconti*, assailed those *Della Torre*. vvho beeing dispersed in diuerse places of the Cittie to appease the tumult, so many of them as could be found vvvere slaine, and the rest spoyled & sent into

Pope Clement 5.

Pope Iohn 22.

A practise of Ma. Visconts against the house of Torre.

Italy.

The meane
how the Vis-
conti aspired
to be Dukes
of Milan.

The king of
Boemia called
into Italy.

The originall
of Vinegia.

Italy. *Maffeo Visconti*, thus made (as it were) prince of *Milan*, had diuerse sonnes, the chiefe of them were called *Galiazzo*, and *Azo*: and after them, *Luchino* & *Giouanni*. *Giouanni* became Archbishop of that Citie, and of *Luchino* who died before him) remained *Barnabo*, and *Galiazzo* called *Conte de Vertu*. He, after the death of the Archbishop, killed *Barnabo* his vnclē, and so became onely prince of *Milan*, and was the first that had the title of Duke. Of him descended *Philippo* & *Giouan Mariangilo* who being slaine by the people of *Milan*, the state remained onely to *Philippo*, and he hauing no heires male, the Dukedome was translated from the house of *Visconti* to the *Sforzi*, as shall be hereafter declared. But to returne to our matter, *Lodouico* the Emperour to giue reputation to his faction, and take the Crowne, came into *Italy*, and being arriued at *Milan*, to the end he might leauy mony of the *Milanesi*, offered to make them free, and for prooffe thereof imprisoned the *Visconti*. Afterwards, by mediation of *Castruccio* of *Lucca*, deliuered them, and went to *Rome*. Then the more easly to disturbe *Italy*, he made *Piero de la Coruara*, Antipope: by whose authoritie and the force of *Visconti*, he hoped to keepe downe the contrary faction, both in *Toscana* and *Lombardy*. But *Castruccio* then died, which was the cause of his ruine: for *Pisa* and *Lucca* presently rebelled. And the *Pisani* sent the Antipope prisoner to the Pope, thē remaining in *France*. Whereupon the Emperour despairing of his enterprise in *Italy*, returned to *Germany*. So soone as he was gone, *Giouanni* king of *Bohemia*, came into *Italy*, called thither by the *Ghibilini* of *Brescia*, and possessed that Citie, with one other called *Bergamo*. And forasmuch as the comming of this king was with consent of the Pope (although hee fained the contrarie) the Legate of *Bologna* fauoured him: imagining, for that cause the Emperour would no more returne into *Italy*, by whose departure thence, the country was greatly altered. The *Florentines* and the king *Roberto*, seeing that the Legate fauoured the enterprise of the *Ghibilini*, became enemies to all those that the Legate and the king of *Bohemia* fauoured: against whom (without respect of *Guelfi* or *Ghibilini*) many princes ioyned. Among them were the *Visconti*, the family of *La Scala* *Filippino Gonzaga* of *Mantoua*, the house of *Carrara*, and *Este*: wherupon the Pope did excommunicate them all. The king for feare of this league, went home to assemble more forces, & returned with thē into *Italy*, & had (though hardly) the victorie, and then (though with displeasure of the Legate) returned to *Bohemia*, leauing onely *Reggio*, and *Modena*, manned: recommending *Parma* to *Marsilio* and *Piero de Rossi*, who were in that citie of most power. He being gone, *Bologna* reuolted to the league, and diuided among them, foure Citties appertaining to the church: allotting *Parma* to the house of *Scala*, *Reggio* to *Gonzaga*, *Modena* to *Este*, and *Lucca* to the *Florentines*. During the conquest of these Citties, grew great warres, but they were chiefly by the *Venetians*, compounded. It may perhaps be thought strange, that among so many accidents of *Italy*, I haue omitted to speake of the *Venetians* common weale, being for the order and power thereof, to be preferred before euerie other principallitie. To satisfie that admiration, the cause thereof being knowne, I will looke backward to time long since passed: and declare what beginning that Citie had. King *Attila* at such time as he besieged *Aquilegia*, the inhabitants of that towne (hauing long defended themselues, & despairing) fled with their goods to the rocks within the point of *Mare Adriatico*. The *Padouani* seeing the fire at hand, and fearing that *Aquilegia* being wonne, *Attila* would assault them; carried all their moueables of most value into the same sea, to a place there called *Riuoalto*: whither they also sent their wiues, children, and aged men, leauing the youth to defend the citie. *Aquilegia* being taken, *Attila* defaced *Padoua*, *Monfelicce*, *Vicenza*, and *Verona*. The *Padouani* and the chiefe of the others, seated themselues in the marishes about *Riuoalto*. Likewise all the people of that prouince (which vvas aunciently called *Venetia*) vvere driuen

out

out by the same misfortune, did also flie thither. Thus constrained by necessitie, they abandoned faire and fertile countries, to inhabit these sterill and paludious places void of all comoditie. And yet, because great numbers of people were at one instant come thither, they made that place not onely habitable, but also pleasant: ordeining among themselves lawes and orders, which amidst so great ruines of *Italy*, they obserued; and within short space encreased in force and reputation. For besides the inhabitants afore said, many of the cities of *Lombardy* (chiefly those that feared the cruelty of their king *Clefi*) fled thither, which was no small encrease to that citie. So that in the time of *Pipino* king of *France*, when at the request of the Pope, he came to driue the *Lombardi* out of *Italy*, it was agreed in Capitulations, betwixt him and the Emperour of *Grecia*, that the Duke of *Benevento* and the *Venetians*, should be subiects neither to the one nor the other, but among themselves enjoy libertie. Moreouer, considering that as necessitie had driuen them to dwell within the water, so it behoued them without helpe of the firme land, to seeke meanes wherby they might procure their own liue-lihood. For which purpose they made ships & gallies, & with them sailed throughout the world, and filled their citie with sundry sorts of marchandise, whereof other men hauing necessitie, required free accesse vnto them. At that time and many yeares after, the *Venetians* thought not vpon other dominions, then those where the traf-fique of their marchandise might safely arriue. Then they wan diuers hauens in *Grecia*, *Soria*, and in the passages that the French men made in *Asia*: because they oftentimes imploing the *Venetian* shippes, appointed vnto them, (as a reward) the Ile of *Candia*. While in this estate and order they liued, their name by sea was terrible, and vpon the firme land of *Italy* venerable. So that in all controuersies that happened, they were (for the most part) arbitrators: as in cōtrouersies which rose in the league, by reason of those cities which they had diuided amongst them. For that controuersie being recommended to the *Venetians*, they ordered that *Bargamo* & *Brescia* should appertaine to the *Visconti*. But in proesse of time hauing conquered *Padoua*, *Vicenza*, *Triuigi*, *Verona*, *Bargamo*, *Brescia*, with diuerse cities in the kingdom, and *Romagna*, (entised with desire of gouernment) they attained so great an opinion of power and reputatiō, that not only of the princes of *Italy*, but also of the kings beyōd the moun-taines they became feared. Wherupon those princes conspiring together, tooke from them in one day, all the states and countries vvhich they in many yeares, and vvith infinite expences had gained. And though in these late times they haue recouered part, yet not recouering their forces and reputation, do (like all other princes of *Italy*) remaine at the deuotion and discretion of others. Now was *Benedetto* 12. come to the Papacy, who seeing himselfe driuen out of *Italy*, and fearing that the Emperour *Lodouico* should become Lord thereof, determined to make all those his friends, who had vsurped the townes which the Emperour possessed. To the end, that thereby they should haue cause to feare the Empire, and ioyne with him in the defence of *Italy*. For the more assurance of this attempt, he made a decree, that all tyrants of *Lombardy* should by iust title possess the townes by them vsurped. But the Pope presently vpon this grant, died, and *Clemente sexto*, elected in his place. The Emperour then seeing with what liberalitie the Pope had giuen the towns. belōging to the Empire, determined to be no lesse liberall of the Popes goods, then the Pope had bene of his: and therefore gaue freely all lands belonging to the church, which any tyrant had vsurped; and they to hold them, by authoritie imperiall. By meane whereof, *Galiotto Malatesti* and his brethren became Lords of *Rimino*, *Pesaro*, & *Fano*. *Antonio di Montefeltro* of *la Marca* and *Vrbino*: *Gentile da Varano* of *Camerino*. *Guido di Polenta* of *Rauenna*. *Simbaldo Ordalaffi* of *Furli*, and *Cesena*: *Giouanni Manfredi* of *Faenza*, *Lodouico Alidosi*, of *Imola*. Besides these, many others possessed towns belōging to the church:

The decree of Pope Benedetto 12. against the Emperour.

The Emperours decree to the Popes prejudice.

so as few remained out of the hands of one Prince or other, which was the cause that the Church (till the coming of *Alissandro 6.*) was holden downe & weake; but he with the ruine of these Lords or their posteritie, restored the same. At such time as the Emperor made this grant, he remained at *Trento*, & seemed as though he would passe from thence into *Italy*; wherby grev many warres in *Lombardy*: & by that occasiō, the *Visconti* became Lords of *Parma*. Then died king *Robarto* of *Napoli*: of whom remained only two grand children, women, begotten by *Carlo* his Son, who long before was dead; bequeathing his kingdom to the elder of them, called *Giouanna*, whom he willed to marrie with *Andrea* sonne to the K. of *Vngaria* his nephew. This *Andrea* continued not long her husband, but was by her murdered, & she married anew to a brother in law of his, called *Lodouico* prince of *Tarranto*. But K. *Lodouico* brother to *Andrea*, to reuenge his death, came with Forces into *Italy*, & draue the Q. *Giouanna* with her husband out of the kingdom. About this time happened in *Rome* a thing very memorable, which was, that one called *Nicholo di Lorenzo* Chancellor in the *Campidoll*, draue the Senators out of *Rome*, & made himself (vnder title of *Tribuno*) chiefe of the *Romane* Common weale: reducing the same into the ancient forme of gouernment, with so great reputation of iustice & vertue, as not only the townes nere hand, but also al *Italy* sent Embassadors vnto him. Whereby, the ancient prouinces, seeing *Rome* restored, looked vp; and some of them moued with feare, and some with hope, honoured him. But *Nicholo* (notwithstanding so great authoritie, in the beginning of this action, abandoned himselfe; and despairing (as it seemeth) to performe so great an enterprife, not being inforced by any man, secretly fled, and went to King *Carlo* of *Bohemia*: who by order of the pope (in despite of *Lodouico* of *Bauiera*, elected Emperour) apprehended *Nicholo*, & sent him to the Pope prisoner. A while after, (as it were to imitate this *Nicholo*) another man called *Francesco Baroegli*, surprized the Tribunate, and draue thence the Senators. Vpon which accident, the Pope (the rather to repress that disorder) tooke *Nicholo* out of prison, restored him to the Tribuneship, & sent him to *Rome*. *Nicholo* there arriued, exercised the office, and put *Francesco* to death. But the *Colonnese* being enemies to *Nicholo*, shortly after killed him also, & restored the Senators to their places. In the meane time, the King of *Vngaria* hauing deposed the Queene *Giouanna*, returned to his Kingdome. The Pope liking better the neighborhood of the Queene than of that King, found meanes that he was pleased to restore the Kingdome: vpon condition, that the Queenes husband should content himselfe, with the title of *Tarranto*, and not be called King. The yeare 1350. being come, the Pope thought good that the *Giubileo* erected by Pope *Bonifacio octauo* at the end of euerie hundred yeare, might be reduced to fiftie yeare, and made a Decree, that afterwards so it should be: The *Romane* receauing the same as a benefit, were content the pope should send to *Rome* foure Cardinals to reforme the state of that Cittie, & make Senators there, those, whom himselfe thought good. The Pope also proclaymed *Lodouico* of *Tarranto* King of *Napoli*: for which fauor, the Queen *Giouanna* gaue vnto the Church the Citie of *Auignion*, which was her patrimony. By this time *Luchino Visconti* was dead, wherby *Giouanni* Archbishop of *Millan* remained only Lord of that state, who made many warres vpon *Toscana*, & other countries his neighbors and therby became exceeding mightie. After his death succeeded *Barnabo* & *Galiazzo* his nephewes: but within short space *Galiazzo* died, leauing one sonne called *Giouan Galiazzo*, who diuided that State with *Barnabo*. At this time *Carlo* K. of *Bohemia* was Emperour, and *Innocentio 6.* Pope; who sent into *Italy* Cardinall *Egidio*, by Nation a *Spaniard*, who with his vertue recovered great reputation to the Church, not onely in *Romagna* & *Rome*, but also throughout al *Italy*. He restored *Bologna*, vsurped by the Archbishop

Giouanna Q
of Naples.

Nicholo di
Lorenz.

Francesco
Baroegli.

Q. Giouanna
deposed.

Pope Inno-
centio sexto.

Archbishop of *Millan*: he constrained the *Romanes* to receaue one Stranger to beea Senator, who yearely should be sent by the Pope: he made honourable composition with the *Visconti*: he vanquished and tooke prisoner *Iohn Aguto* an English-man; who with foure thousand of his owne Nation serued in *Toscana* to the ayde of the *Ghibelini*. *Vrbano quinto* being come to the Papacie, and vnderstanding of so manie Victories, determined to visite *Italy* and *Rome*: whether also came *Carlo* the Empe-
 rour; who (after a few months) went to the Kingdome, and the Pope to *Auignion*. *Vrbano* being dead, *Gregorio duodecimo* was created: and because then died the Cardinal *Egidio*, *Italy* was returned to trouble, occasioned by the Townes confederate against the *Visconti*. Wherevpon the Pope sent first a Legate into *Italy* with sixethousand *Brittaines*, after in person followed himselfe, and setled the Court in *Rome*, in the yeare 1376. which had continued from thence in *Fraunce* 71. yeares. After the death of this Pope, was created *Vrbano sexto*. Shortly after at *Fondi*, ten Cardinals (who said *Vrbano* was not well chosen) elected *Clemente octauo*. Then the *Genouesi* (who diuers yeares had liued vnder government of the *Visconti*) rebelled. Betwixt them and the *Venetians* (for the Iland called *Tenedo*) grew Warres of great importance, and deuided all *Italy*. In these Warres was great Shot and Artillarie first seene, as Instruments then newly deuised by the *Almaines*. And albeit the *Genouesi* had for a time in this Warre the aduantage, and diuers moneths besieged *Venice*, yet in the end the *Venetians* had the better, and by mediation of the Pope made peace, in the yeare 1381. Then chaunced a schisme in the Church, and Queene *Giuanna* fauored the Antipope: for which cause, *Vrbano* practised an enterprise against her, and sent *Carlo Durezzo* (descended of the Kings of *Napoli*) into the Kingdome; who there arriued, possessed himselfe, and forced the Queene to flye vnto *Fraunce*. The French King therewith offended, sent *Lodouico de Angio* into *Italy*, to recouer the Kingdome for the Queene, remooue the Pope *Vrbano*, and put the Antipope into possession: but *Lodouico* in the midst of this enterprise died, and his Souldiers returned into *Fraunce*. The Pope in the meane while, went vnto *Napoli*, where hee imprisoned nine Cardinals, for hauing followed the faction of *France*, and the Antipope. That done, he quarellled vwith the king, for not hauing made a nephew of his Prince of *Capoua*: yet faining not to force much thereof; desired to haue *Nocera* for his dwelling, vwhere after vwards he assembled great forces, and practised to depriue the king. (The king then marching towards him,) the Pope tarried not, but fled to *Genoua*, vwhere he executed those Cardinals vvhom he had before imprisoned. From thence he vvent to *Rome*, and there to giue himselfe reputation, created 28. Cardinals. At this time vvent *Carlo* king of *Napoli* to *Vngaria*, and vvas created king; and shortly after slaine: hauing left in *Napoli* his vwife vwith tvvo children, *Ladislao* and *Giuanna*. At this time also, *Giuanni Galiazzo Visconti*, had murdered *Barnabo* his vncler, & taken into his hands the state of *Milan*. And not content vwith the Dukedome of all *Lombardy*, he sought to be also Lord of *Toscana*. But vwhen he hoped to haue taken the possession, and be crownd king of *Italy*; died. Next vnto *Vrbano sexto*, succeeded *Bonifacio nono*. Then died also in *Auignion* the Antipope *Clemente septimo*. And in his place vvas elected *Benedetto* 13. In these dayes liued in *Italy* many souldiers of forreine nations, *English men*, *Almains*, and *Brittaines*: brought either partly by those Princes vwho many times had serued in *Italy*; and partly sent by the Popes, vwhen they remained at *Auignion*. Against these people; the princes of *Italy* long time made vvarre, and at length *Lodouico da Conio* arose, vwho making a company of *Italians*, calling the same *S. Giorgio*, their vertue & discipline rooke from the straungers all reputation, and brought the same to the *Italians*: of vvhom euer after the princes of *Italy*, in all their vvars vvere serued. The Pope by reason of the
 controuersie

Pope Vrbano
no. 5.The Papall
court retur-
ned to Rome.
An. 1376.Great artille-
ry first vsed in
Italy 1376.Pope Bene-
detto 13.

controuersie betwixt him and the *Romanes*, went vnto *Scefi*, where he remained till the *Iubileo* in the yeare 1400. At which time, the *Romanes* for their profit were content he should returne to *Rome*, and also place there one Senator at his election: and therewith also to fortifie the Castle of *S. Angelo*. With these conditions the Pope returned, and the rather to enrich the Church, he ordained that euerie Benefice falling void, should pay the first frutes into the treasure house. After the death of *Giuuan Galiazzo* Duke of *Milan*, albeit he left two sonnes called *Giuanniariangelo* and *Philippo*, yet his Countrey became diuided into manie parts. And in the troubles which thereby happened, *Giuanniariangelo* was slaine, and *Philippo* for a time remained prisoner in the Castle of *Pauia*: yet by good fortune, and fauour of the Captaine, was set at libertie. Among others that vsurped the possessions of this Duke, was *Gulielmo Della Scalla*: who (being a banished man) remained in the hands of *Francesco de Carrara* Lord of *Padoua*; through whom he recouered the State of *Verona*, which hee enioyed not long, because *Francesco* procured him to be poisoned, and surprized the Cittie. Thereuppon the *Vicentini* (hauing liued quietly vnder the ensigne of the *Visconti*, and fearing the greatnes of *Francesco*) yeelded their obedience to the *Venetians*: who presently tooke armes against the Lord of *Padoua*, and first depriued him of *Verona*; and afterwards wan the Cittie of *Padoua*. In the meane space died *Bonifacio*, and *Innocentio septimo* was elected Pope: to whom the people of *Rome* presented an humble request; desiring it might please his Holines to deliuer into their hands the Fortresses, and restore them to their libertie: which sute the Pope denied. The people then praied aid of *Ladislao* King of *Napoli*; yet afterwards falling to agreement, the Pope returned to *Rome*, being fled from thence for feare of the people, and remained at *Viterbo*, where he had created a nephew of his to bee Earle of *La Marca*; which done, hee shortly after died, and *Gregorio duodecimo* was created Pope: with condition, that hee should religne the Papacie, whensoever the Antipope did the like. By perswasion of the Cardinals, intending to make prooffe, whether the Church could bee reunited or not; *Benedetto* Antipope came to *Porta Venere*, and *Gregorio* to *Luca*: where they practised manie matters, but nothing tooke effect; so that the Cardinals (both of the one and the other Pope) did forsake them. Pope *Benedetto* went into *Spaine*, and *Gregorio* to *Rimini*. The Cardinals on the other part, with the fauour of *Baldasarre Cossa* Cardinall and Legate of *Bologna*, ordained a Councell at *Pisa*, where they created *Alissandro quinto*, who did excommuni- cate *Ladislao*, giuing that Kingdom to *Luigi de Angio*: and then with the aide of the *Florentines*, *Genouesi*, and *Venetians*, together with *Baldaser Cossa* Legate, assaulted *Ladislao*, and tooke from him *Rome*. But in the heate of this warre died *Alissandro*, and *Baldaser Cossa* was elected, calling himselfe *Giuanni vicesimo tertio*. He, departing from *Bologna* (beeing there made Pope) went from thence to *Rome*, and there met *Luigi de Angio*, comethither with a Nauie from *Prouenza*. Then presently they assaulted *Ladislao*, and ouerthrew him: yet through the default of their Leaders, the victorie was not followed; by meanes whereof, within short space after, the King recouered an Armie, and againe surprized *Rome*. The Pope then fled to *Bologna*, and *Luigi* to the prouince. The Pope imagining how he might diminish the greatnes of *Ladislao*, found meanes that *Sigismondo* King of *Vngaria* should be chosen Emperour, perswading him to come into *Italy*; which he did, and met with the Pope at *Mantoua*. There they agreed to call a Councell generall, and therein to reunite the Church: the rather to become able to withstand the force of their enemies. At that time were three Popes, *Gregorio*, *Benedetto*, and *Giuanni*, who made the Church exceeding weake, and without reputation. The place elected for this Councell, was *Costanza* a Citie of *Germanie*. But contrarieto the expectation of *Giuanni*, the death

The first frutes of Benefices taken by the pope.

pope Innocentio 7.

K. Ladislao deposed by pope Alissandro 5.

Three popes at one time.

death of *Ladislaio*, remoued the occasion of Councell: notwithstanding, being already bound by promise, hee could not refuse to goe thither. Being arriued at *Costanza* (ouerlate knowing this errour) he practised to flie thence, but was there staied, put in prison, and constrained to resigne the Papacie. *Gregorio* also the other Antipope, by his messenger resigned. *Benedetto* the third Antipope, refusing to resigne, was condemned for an heriticke, and being abandoned by his Cardinals, was in the end enforced to resigne. The Councell then created *Oddo Colonna*, who was called Pope *Martino quarto*. And so the Church, after fortie yeares of diuision was vnited, hauing bene all that time in the hands of diuerse Popes. In those dayes, (as hath bene before said) *Philippo Visconti*, remained in the Castle of *Pauia*. But *Fantino Cane*, who (during the troubles of *Lombardy*) possessed himselfe of *Vercelli*, *Allisandria*, *Nouara Tortona*, and had also gathered great riches, then died. And not hauing anie heire, bequeathed his possessions to *Beatrice* his wife; desiring his friendes to procure she might be married to *Philippo*. By which marriage, *Philippo* became potent, and recouered *Milan*, with all the state of *Lombardy*. Afterwards, to declare himselfe thankfull for so great a benefit, he accused *Beatrice* of adulterie, and put her to death. Thus attained to be a Prince most mightie, he beganne to thinke vpon the warres of *Toscana*, before entended by his father *Giouan Galiazzo*. *Ladislaio* King of *Napoli*, at his death, left vnto his sister *Giouanna*, not onely the kingdome, but also a great Armie, gouerned by the principall Leaders of all *Italy*. Among the chiefe of whom, was *Sforza di Contignuola*, in those dayes a man of warre, of singular reputation. The Queene (the rather to eschue a flaunder by one *Pandolfello* a man brought vp by her selfe) tooke to husband *Iacobo Della Marchia*, who was descended from the French Kings, vpon condition that hee would content himselfe to be called Prince of *Tarranto*; and suffer her to enioy the kingdome, with the gouernment thereof. Notwithstanding, so soone as he arriued at *Naples*, the souldiers called him King, whereof great warres followed betwixt the wife and the husband: and sometimes the one, & sometimes the other, had the vpper hand. But in the end, the Queene remained gouernour of the state, and afterwards became enemie to the Pope. Thereupon *Sforza* intending to driue her to a disaduantage, and inforce her to be glad of him, contrarie to all expectation gaue vp his enterteinment; by which meanes she remained vtterly disarmed, and not hauing other, fled for aide to *Alfonso* King of *Arragon* and *Sicilia*, adopting him her sonne, and entertained *Braccio di Montone*: who was in Armes no lesse esteemed, then was *Sforza*, & therewithall enemy to the Pope, for hauing surprized *Perugia*, with some other townes belonging to the church. Afterwards a peace was taken betweene her and the Pope. Then the King *Alfonso* doubting least she wold entreat him as she had intreated her husband) sought secretly to possesse the Fortresses. But she being subtil, fortified her self in the Castle of *Napoli*. Suspitions thus growing in the minds of the one and the other, they came to fight, and the Queene with the helpe of *Sforza* (who was returned to her seruice) vanquished *Alfonso*: draue him out of *Naples*, deprived him of his adoption, and adopted *Lodouico de Angio*; whereof grew a great warre betwixt *Braccio* who had folowed *Alfonso*, & *Sforza* that fauoured the Queen. In the proceeding of these wars, *Sforza* occasioned to passe the riuer of *Pescara*, was there drowned: whereby the Queene became again disarmed, & should haue bene driuen out of the kingdome, if *Philippo Visconti* Duke of *Milā* had not enforced *Alfonso* (proceeding on in his journey against the Queen) to be staied. For hauing besieged *Aquila*, the Pope (supposing the greatnes of *Braccio* not to be good for the church) entertained *Francesco* the sonne of *Sforza*, against *Braccio*, & at *Aquila* slew him; & ouerthrew his army. On the part of *Braccio*, *Oddo* his son was saued, frō whō the Pope tooke *Perugia*, & left to him

The Church
after fortie
yeares diuisi-
on, was vnited

VVarre be-
twixt Queene
Giouanna,
and her hus-
band.

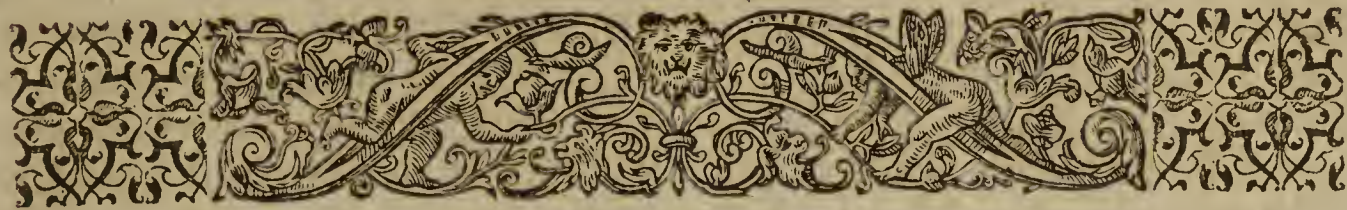
Lodouico
de Angio, a-
dopted king
of Naples.

How Italy was
gouerned and
diuided.

Montone: yet shortly after, fighting for the *Florentines* in *Romagna*, was there slaine. So then, of all these that serued with *Braccio*, *Nicholo Piccinino*, remained of most reputation. Now because we are come with our history neare to that time which I determined (and that the rest which remaineth vnspoken, importeth for the most part nothing else but the wars which the *Florentines* & *Venetians* had with *Philippo* Duke of *Milan*, which shall also be discoursed hereafter, when particularly we entreate of *Florence*) I will not speak more therof, but briefly reduce to memorie in what termes *Italy* with the Princes and the souldiers of those daies remained. Among the principall states, Queene *Giouanni 2.* held the kingdom of *Napoli*; *La Marca*, *Patrimonio* and *Romagna*. Part of the townes to these belonging, obeyed the church, & part of them were vsurped by tirants, or their ministers: as *Farrara*, *Modena*, & *Reggio* by the house of *Este*. *Faenza* by *Manfredi*; *Imola* by the *Alidosi*; *Furli* by the *Ordelaffi*; *Rimini* and *Pesaro* by the *Malatesti*; and *Camerino* by the house of *Varano*. The Prouincēs of *Lombardy*, were partly gouerned by *Philippo* Duke of *Milan*, and partly by the *Venetians*. For all those that had therein any particuler states, were extirped (except the house of *Gonzaga*) which gouerned stil at *Mantoua*. In *Toscana*, the greatest princes that gouerned, were the *Florentines*: onely *Lucca* and *Siena*, liued with their lawes. *Lucca* vnder *Guinici*, *Siena* as absolutely free. The *Genouesi*, sometimes in libertie, and sometime in seruitude to the house of *France*, or *Visconti*, were without reputation, and among the meaner Potentates accounted. For all the principall Lords and Potentates, were at that time of their owne subiectes vterly diarmed. The Duke *Philippo* liuing at home, and not suffering himselfe to be seene, his warres were altogether directed by ministers. The *Venetians*, so soone as they began to make warres by land, lost all that glorie which before vpon the sea they had gotten. And (following the custome of other *Italians*) by the direction of strangers gouerned their warres. The Pope being a man of religion, and the Queene *Giouanna* a woman, did laie by their Armes: doing that for necessitie which others had done by election. The *Florentines* also, to like necessitie yeelded: for their sundry ciuil diuisions among themselves, had clearly extirped the Nobilitie, and left the Common weale to be gouerned by those that had bene brought vp in marchandise, and were therby enforced to abide the fortune of others. The discipline of warre then remained, only in the poore Princes, & Gentlemen that wanted liuing; and they not moued by any desire of glorie, but rather to become rich and assured, armed themselves. They then being wel practised in the warres (not hauing any other trade to liue) sought by the wars to make themselves strong and honourable. Among this number for their value, most renowned, were *Carnignuola*, *Francesco Sforza*, *Nicholo Piccinino*, brought vp by *Braccio*, *Agnolo della Pergola*, *Lorenzo*, and *Michelletto Attenduly*: *Tartaglia*, *Giacopaccio Cecolino da Parugia*, *Nicholo di Tolentino*, *Guido Torello*, *Antonio dal Ponte ad Hera*, and others. Besides them were those great Lordes of whom I haue already spoken. And with them, may be numbred the *Orsini*, and *Calonnesi*, Barrons of *Rome*, with some other Gentlemen of the kingdom; and of *Lombardy*: who making a misterie or art of the warre, had among themselves a secret league and intelligence, whereby they protracted the seruice for their profit. And so, the Princes for whom they serued, were on both sides loosers. In conclusion, the warres became so cowardlie, that anie ordinarie Capitaine, hauing in him but a shadow of the auncient vertue, might (to the admiration of all *Italy*) haue vanquished those souldiers: who through small wisdom, and want of iudgement) were much honoured. Of these idle Princes, and of these most base and cowardlie souldiers, this my Historie shall at large entreate. But first (as in the beginning I promised) it seemeth necessarie for me to returne backe, and tell the originall of *Florence*; letting euerie man

to vnderstand fully, what was the state of that Cittie in those dayes: and by what meanes amongst so many troubles happened in *Italy* (during the space of a thousand yeares) the same hath still continued.

The ende of the first Booke.



THE SECOND B O O K E.



AMONG other great and marvellous orders of the auncient common weales, & principallities (at this time decaied) was that whereby new Townes and Citties were from time to time builded. For there is nothing more worthie an excellent Prince, or well gouerned common weale, nor more profitable to any Country, then the building vp of new Townes, where men may with commoditie, for defence and tilladge, assemble themselues: which thing those people might easily do, hauing in custome to send dwellers into such Countries as were either vnpeopled, or conquered; which people, were in those dayes called *Collonies*. For besides, that this order occasioned new Townes to be built, the same also did make the Country conquered, to be more assured to the Conquerers thereof. It also replenished the voyd places, and mainteined the people in such orders as they were planted: which wrought this effect, that men most commodiously inhabiting, did most multiply. They were also in the offence of others the more readie, and in defence of themselues more assured. That custome (being through negligence of common weales and Princes of this time, discontinued) doth occasion the weaknesse and ruine of their Countries, because that only maketh euery gouernment assured, and euery Country (as is before said) plentifully inhabited. The assurance groweth, because *Collonies* planted in any prouince newly conquered, is (as it were) a castle and gard, to hold the same in obedience. Besides that, no country wel inhabited, can maintaine the inhabitants thereof, nor continue them as they be planted, without that rule and order: for all places are not plentiful or wholesome, which is the cause that the people in the one do abound, and want in the other. So as if no meane be, to take away where is abundance, & supply where want is, that Country in short space must of force be ruined; because the one part thereof, through the small number of inhabitants becommeth desolate, and the other being ouercharged, oppressed with pouertie. And for that nature could not reforme this disorder, it is necessarie, that industry should do it. For vnwholesome Countries planted full of people, comming thither all together, do make the same healthful, by reason that the tilling of the earth doth alter the soyle; and the fiers, do greatly purge the aire; which things nature by her selfe could not. The experience thereof is seene by the Cittie of *Venice*, seated in a place paludious, and vnwholesome. Notwithstanding, the assemblie of many inhabitants come thither at one instant, did make the same healthy inough. *Pisa* likewise, through the contagion of the aire, was neuer replenished, but when *Genoua*,

and the riuers thereto belonging, were by the *Saracins* destroyed, it enforced the people (driuen from their natiue countrey) to flye thither, and make that place well inhabited, and strong. This custome of sending *Collonies* being discontinued, is the occasion that countreyes conquered, are holden with more difficultie; those that be emptie are not supplied, and countreyes ouer full are not disburthened, whereby, manie parts of the world, and chiefly *Italy*, in respect of the ancient times, are become desarts. Thereason thereof is, that there hath not bene, nor is not in Princes, anie desire of true glorie, nor in Common-weales anie ordinance that meriteth commendation. In the old time we see, that through vertue of these *Collonies*, Citties were often made new, and some others (alreadie begun) encreased: of which number was the Cittie of *Florence*, begunne by the people of *Fiesole*, and enlarged by *Collonies*. A thing most true it is (as *Dante* and *Iohn Villano* haue written) that the Cittie of *Fiesole* being set on the top of a mountaine, to occasion their markets to bee the more frequented, and giue commoditie to those that with their merchandize would resort thither, did giue order that they should not clime vpthe hill, but stay in the plaine, betwixt the foote of the mountaine, & the riuier *Arno*. These markets (as I iudge) were occasion of the first building in that place. The merchants also being desirous to haue storehouses commodious for the receiuing of wares, made buildings there, which in time became houses of habitation. Afterwards, when the *Romanes* (hauing vanquished the *Carthagines*) had made *Italy* from forreine warres secure, in great numbers there they multiplied; for men doo neuer seeke the defence of themselues, if by necessitie they are not incouraged: and, as feare of warre doth constraime them willingly to inhabit barren places and strong, so that feare remooued, (allured with commoditie) more willingly they couet to dwell in Countreyes pleasant and profitable. The securitie which grew in *Italy* by reputation of the *Roman* common-weale, might occasion the number of the inhabitants to bee so great, as made this place to become (as it were) in forme of a Towne, and was at the beginning called *Arnina*. After that time, ciuill warres happened in *Rome*, first betweene *Mario* and *Silla*, then betwixt *Cesare* and *Pompeio*, and at last betweene the murtherers of *Cesar*, and those which sought to reuenge his death. It seemeth therefore, that first by *Silla*, and next by those three Citizens of *Rome* (that after the reuenge made for *Cesar*) diuided the Empire, *Collonies* were sent to *Fiesole*, who either all, or part, did plant their dwellings in the plaine neare vnto the Towne alreadie begun: insomuch, as the same was much enlarged, and so well replenished with buildings, men, and other things necessarie for ciuill life, as it became to be numbred among the Citties of *Italy*. Yet whence this name *Firenze* should be deriued, diuers men do diuersly hold opinion. Some suppose it so called of *Florino*, one of the chiefe of the *Colloni*. Others would not consent that it was called *Florentia* at the beginning, but *Fluentia*, because it was neare the riuier of *Arno*, which floweth. And they alledge the authoritie of *Plinny*, where he saith, that the people *Fluentini* be neare vnto *Arno*: which may be false, because *Plinny* maketh demonstration where the *Florentines* were seated, not how they were called. And that word *Fluentini* must needs be corrupted, because *Frontino* and *Cornelio Tacito* (who wrote almost in the time of *Plinny*) do call the Towne *Florentia*, and the people *Florentini*; for that long since in the time of *Tiberio*, they were gouerned according to the custome of other Cities in *Italy*. *Cornelio* reporteth also, that the *Florentines* had sent Embassadors to the Emperour, praying, that the waters of *Chiane* might not discend vpon their Countrey; neither is it reasonable, that the Citie should haue in one time two names. I beleue therefore it was alwaies called *Florentia*. For what cause soeuer it was so named, or for what cause soeuer it had the beginning,

VWhereof the name of Florence is deriued.

beginning, most sure it is, that vnder the Empire of *Rome*, it had the foundation, & in the reigne of the first Emperours, Writers did make mention thereof. Moreouer, at such time as the barbarous people did persecute the Empire, *Florence* was by *Totila* King of the *Ostrogotti* defaced, and after 250. yeares by *Carlo Magno* reedified: from which time, till the yeares after Christ 1215. it continued vnder that fortune which others did, who then commanded in *Italy*. In which time, first gouerned there the posteritie of *Carlo*, then *Barengarii*, and last of all the Emperours of *Germanie*, as hath bene in our vniuersall discourse before declared. The *Florentines* could not in those times increase or do anie thing worthie memorie, for the authoritie of them, vnto whom it was subiect: notwithstanding, in the yeare 1010. and the day of *S. Romolo*, (a solemne Feast with the *Fiesolane*) they surprized *Fiesole*, and demolished the same; which they did, either with consent of the Emperours, or else at such times as one Emperor being dead, the other was not elected, whereby euerie man (for the present) remained at libertie. But since the Popes tooke vnto themselves more authoritie in *Italy*, and the *Germane* Emperours grew weake, euerie Towne in that Prouince with lesse reuerence to their Prince, was gouerned. Insomuch, as in the yere 1080. in the time of *Arrigo* the third, *Italy* was openly diuided into faction betwixt him and the Church: notwithstanding the *Florentines* maintained themselves vnited, till the yere 1215. yelding to the victorious, without aspiring farther thā to saue themselves. But as to the bodies of men, the longer they bee healthie, the more dangerous and mortall are the sicknesses, when they happen: so *Florence* the more slowlie it followed the factions, the more speedily and greuously it was by them afterwards afflicted. The first occasion of diuision in that Citie, is most publicly knowen, because it hath bene written by *Dante* and diuers others: neuertheles I thinke good briefly to speake thereof. There was in *Fiorence* (among others) of the mightie Families, *Buondelmonti*, and *Vberti*; next vnto them were the *Amidei* and *Donati*. In the house of *Donati* was a Gentlewoman, a widow and rich, who hauing one onely daughter, a maiden of much beautie, whom within her selfe, shee determined to marrie vnto *Buondelmonti* a yong Gentleman, and the chiefe of his house. This her intent, eyther through negligence or delay of time (none beeing made priuie thereof) was deferred so long, that *Buondelmonti* was contracted to the daughter of *Amidei*: wherewith she greatly discontented, & supposing it were possible with the beautie of her daughter to stay the marriage, before the same should be solemnized: one day, seeing *Buondelmonti* comming towards her house, came downe, her daughter following; and meeting him at the gate, said, I am very glad that you are now become married, yet was it my meaning you should haue had this my daughter, and with those words (she opened the gate) and shewed her vnto him. The Gentleman beholding the beautie of the maiden (which indeed was rare) and therewith considering that her parentage and portion was not inferiour to hers, whom he had already taken, became exceedingly desirous to haue her. Then, not respecting his faith already giuen, nor the iniurie he did in breaking the same, nor yet the inconuenience that might ensue thereof, said: Sith it hath pleased you to reserue your daughter for me, I should bee vnthankfull (beeing yet all in time) to refuse her. After the speaking of these words (without farther delay) hee married her. This marriage beeing knowen, highly offended all the Familie of *Amidei*, and *Vbarti*: who were by his first marriage, allied. Then assembling themselves, and consulting together, in the ende concluded, that such an iniurie might not bee borne without shame; nor the reuenge thereunto due, could bee other than the death of *Buondelmonti*. And albeit some did fore-cast the inconueniences that might followe such an Action: yet *Moscha Lamberti* sayde, that who so euer casteth

The first deuision of Florence.

all doubts, should neuer resolue anie thing; alleading the auncient Prouerbe, *A thing once done, is past remedie.* Then gaue they the charge of this murder to be performed by *Moscha, Stiatta, Vberti, Lambertuccio, Amidei, Odorigo Fifanti.* These men in the morning of Easter day, at the houre of Resurrection, assembled themselves in the houses of the *Amidei*; by which streete, *Buondelmonti* passed the bridge vpon a white horse: and supposing (as it seemeth) that it had bene a thing as ealie to forget an iniurie, as renounce a marriage, was at the foote of the bridge vnder an Image of *Mars* (which there is standing) assaulted, and slaine. This murder diuided the whole Citie, the one halfe tooke part with *Buondelmonti*, the other with *Vberti*. These Families, by reason they were strong in houses, towers, and men, fought manie yeares, before the one could chase the other out of the Cittie: till at length (without anie firme peace made) a truce was taken, which according vnto occasion, was sometimes kept, and sometimes broken. *Florence* continued in these troubles, till the time of *Federigo* the second: who being also King of *Napoli*, was perswaded hee might encrease his dominion against the Church. And to make his authoritie more assured in *Toscana*, he fauoured the *Vberti* and their followers, who thereby draue out the *Buondelmonti*: and so our Cittie (like vnto all other Townes of *Italy*) became diuided into *Guelfi* and *Ghibilini*. And it seemeth not superfluous to make mention of the Families that depended of the one and the other. Those that followed the faction of *Guelfi*, were *Buondelmonti, Narli, Rosi, Frescobaldi, Mozzi, Baldi, Pulci, Gherardini, Faraboschi, Bagnesi, Guidalotti, Sachetti, Manieri, Lucardesi, Chiaramonti, Compiobbesi, Canalcanti, Giandonati, Gianfigliuzzi, Scali, Gualerotti, Importunni, Bostichi, Tornaquinci, Vecchiotti, Tosinghi, Arregucci, Agli, Sitii, Adimari, Visdomini, Donati, Pazzi, della Bella, Ardinghi, Tebaldi, Cherchi.* For the *Ghibilini*, were *Vberti, Mannelli, Vbriachi, Fifanti, Amidei, Infanganti, Malespini, Scolari, Guidi, Galli, Capardi, Lamberti, Soldanieri, Capriani, Toschi, Ameri, Palermi, Migliorelli, Pigli, Baruchi, Cattani, Agollanti, Brunelleschi, Caponsachi, Elisei, Abbati, Tedaldini, Giuochi, Caligai.* Besides these noble houses, manie popular families ioyned in that action: so that welneare all the Cittie became corrupted with this diuision. But the *Guelfi* being driuen out, retyred themselves into Townes of the Vale of *Arno*, where their chiefe places of strength were, and (the best they could) against the furie of their enemies defended themselves. *Federigo* then dying, such as remained in *Florence* and were men neuterall, hauing also credite with the people, thought better to reunite the Cittie, than holding it in diuision, vterly to ouenthrow it. They therefore found meanes, that the *Guelfi* (setting all iniurie aside) should returne, and the *Ghibilini* (without suspicion) receaue them. They thus vnitd, it seemed to them, that the time would well serue to frame an order for the libertie of the Cittie, before the new Emperour should grow strong. For which purpose, they diuided the Cittie into sixe parts, and chose twelue Cittizens for euerie part to gouerne the same, whom they called *Antiani*, and were changed euerie yeare. Also to remoue all offences, that might arise by Iudges, they elected two Straungers to that office, calling the one Captaine of the people, and the other *Podesta*: who were authorized to iudge all causes that happened in the Cittie, either ciuill or criminall. Also, because no order is assured without defenders thereof, they appointed in the Citie twentie Ensignes, and threescore and sixtene in the Countrey; vnder which all the youth was mustred, and commanded they should be readie armed, euerie man vnder the ensigne whereto he belonged, whensoever he were either by the Captain or the *Antiani* called. And as the ensignes which those soldiers were appointed vnto were diuers, so were the weapons diuersly diuided: for the crosbowes had their priuate ensigne, & the holberdiers theirs. Also at euerie feast of Pentecost,

By what means the factions of *Guelfi* and *Ghibilini* arose in *Florence.*

An vnion and policie, settled in *Florence.*

with

with great pompe they erected new ensignes, and appointed new Captaines, & trained the souldiers to such perfection, as euerie man knew in what order hee should march, retire, and charge the enemy. Then they caused a great chariot couered with redde, and drawne by two Oxen, to carry their chiefe ensigne, of colour white and redde. Whensoever they intended to assemble all their forces, they commanded this Chariot to be brought into the market place, and with great ceremony giue charge thereof to the chiefe Captaines of the people. They had also for the magnificence of their enterprise, a great bell called *Martinella*, which was rung continually one whole moneth before their Army was brought into the field: to the end that the enemy might prepare for his defence. So great was the vertue of men in those dayes, and so honourably they proceeded in their actions: where at this present to assaile the enemy sodeinly and without warning, is thought to be a wise and honourable thing, in those dayes the same was holden cowardly, and dishonourably. This Bell was also carried with the Army, and by the sound thereof the watches and other orders of the Campe were commanded. Vpon these martiall ordinances and ciuill rules, the *Florentines* laide the foundation of their libertie. Neither can it bee imagined how great authoritie and force that Cittie in short space attained vnto. So that it became not onely chiefe of *Toscana*, but also was accounted amongst the best Cities of *Italy*, and should haue so continued, had not the often and new diuisions disturbed the same: vnder this gouernment the *Florentines* liued tenne yeares, within which time they enforced the *Pistoiesi*, *Aretini*, and *Senesi*, to make league with them. Returning from *Sienna* with their Army, they surprized *Volterra*, and demolished some castles, leading the inhabitants of them to *Florence*. All which enterprises were performed by counsell of the *Guelfi*, who could do much more then the *Ghibilini*, because they for their insolencie during the raigne of *Federigo* were hated of the people. The faction of the church also much more loued, then the faction of the Emperour: because the *Florentines* hoped thereby to preferue their libertie, but beeing vnder the Emperour they feared to loose it. The *Ghibilini* then seeing themselves bereft of authoritie, could not liue contented, but still aspecting occasion to recouer the gouernment, and seeing *Manfredi* sonne of *Federigo*, possessed of the kingdome of *Napoli*, who had also discomfited the forces of the church, thought the time come to serue their purpose. Secretly then they practised with him to take their authoritie vpon him, but their practise was not so cunningly handled, but that the same was discovered to the *Antiani*, who presently sent for the *Vbarti*. They not onely refused to appeare, but also tooke Armes, and fortified themselves in their houses: wherewith the people offended, likewise tooke Armes, and ayding the *Guelfi*, enforced them and all the rest of the *Ghibilini* to abandon *Florence*, and go vnto *Sienna*. From whom they prayed aide of *Manfredi* king of *Napoli*, and by the industry of *Farrinata Vberti*, the *Guelfi* vpon the riuer *Arbia*, receiued so great an ouerthrow and slaughter, as those that were saued, returned not to *Florence*; but supposing their Cittie lost, fled into *Lucca*. The chiefe Captaine of those souldiers sent by *Manfredi*, was Earle *Giordano*, a man of war in that time greatly esteemed. Hee, after the victorie, went with the *Ghibilini* to *Florence*, reducing the citie wholly to the obedience of *Manfredi*, deposing the magistrates, and altering euerie other order, whereby might appeare any forme of libertie. Which iniurie with small wisdom committed, was generally of the people taken in great disdaine, and of friends to the *Ghibilini*, they became mortal enemies, wherof, with time, grew their vtter ruine. The Earle *Giordano*, hauing occasion to return to *Napoli* for the seruice of that kingdome, left in *Florence* as deputie for the king, the Earle *Guido Nouella*, Lord of *Casentino*, who at *Empoli* assembled a Councell of *Ghibilini*, it was necessarie to raze *Florence*, as apt (by reason the people were *Guelfi*) to recouer

King Manfredi, a chiefe of the *Ghibilini*.

recouer force for the aide of the church. To this so cruell a sentence in preiudice of that noble citie, there was no citizen nor friend (*Farinata Vberti* excepted) that appoyed himself. He openly & without respect spake in fauour therof; & laid, that he had not laboured nor aduentured himselfe in so many perils, but to the end he might inhabit his natiue country; & would not loole that he had so long fought, nor thunne that which fortune had laid vpon him: Yea, being no lesse enemy to them that should so determine, then he had bene to the *Guelfi*; he wold not refuse to fauour his country, hoping that his vertue which had chased out the *Guelfi* from *Florence*, should also defend the same. *Farinata* was a man of great courage, excellent in the wars, chief of the *Ghibilini*, and greatly esteemed of *Manfredi*: his opinion therefore preuailed, and new means were thought vpon how to preserue the state. The *Guelfi* (before fled to *Lucca* for feare of the Earles threatning) were sent away from thence, and went to *Bologna*: fro whence they were called by the *Guelfi* of *Parma*, to go with them to an enterprise against the *Ghibilini*, wherein by their vertue the enemies were vanquished, and they recouered their owne possessions. So that encreasing in riches & honour, knowing also that Pope *Clemente* had sent for *Carlo* of *Angio*, to take the kingdome from *Manfredi*, by Ambassadors they offered him their seruice: and the Pope did not onely receiue them for his friendes, but also gaue them his Ensigne; which euer sithence the *Guelfi* haue carried in their warres; and is that, which at this day is vsed in *Florence*. Then was *Manfredi* by *Carlo* dispossessed of his kingdome and slain. In which enterprise, the *Guelfi* of *Florence* happening to be present, their faction gained reputation, and the *Ghibilini* became the weaker. Whereupon, those that gouerned with the Earle *Guido* at *Florence*, thought it meete by some benefit to winne the loue of the people, which with many iniuries had before that time bene lost. For those remedies which before this time of necessitie would haue preuailed, vsing them now without order, and out of time, did not onely hurt, but also hasten their ruine. They then thought good to make the people friends and partakers of such honours and authoritie, as had bene taken from them: and elected thirtie sixe Citizens Commoners; who with two Gentlemen (called from *Bologna*) should reforme the state of the Citie. They thus assembled, presently diuided the Citie into Arts or Misteries: ouer euery one of which Misteries, they appointed one Magistrate to do iustice to all those within his gouernment. They ordeined also an Ensigne to euerie Miserie: to the end, that all men might repaire therunto armed, whensoever occasion did serue. These Misteries, were in the beginning twelue, seuen great, and five lesse. Afterwards, the lesse Misteries encreased to fourteene, so then the number was, (as at this present it is) twenty one. The thirtie six men appointed for reformation, practised many things for the benefit of the people. The Earle *Guido* for the paying of the souldiers imposed a Subsidie vpon the Citizens: whom hee found so vnwilling therewith. as hee durst not enforce them to paie those summes that were imposed. And supposing to haue lost the state, he ioynd himselfe with the chiefe of the *Ghibilini*; which done, determined to take that fro the people by force, which they for want of iudgement had graunted. For that purpose assembling the souldiers Armed, and accompanied with the thirtie sixe Reformers, hee made an Alarm, and foorthwith the Reformers retired themselues to their houses, and the Ensignes of the Misteries came foorth, followed by many Armed men, who vnderstanding that the Earle *Guido* with his followers, were at Saint *Giouanni*, they made head at Saint *Trinita*, and there elected *Giouanni Sodarini*, theyr Captaine. The Earle on the other side, hearing where the people were, marched towardses them, who fled not, but assoone as the Earle drew neare, charged him neare vnto the place called *Loggio delli Tornaquinci*. There they forced

Farinata Vberti.

The Duke of Angio, called into Italy by the Pope.

King Manfredi slain.

New ordinances in Florence.

forced the Earle to retire with the slaughter, and losse of many his souldiers. The Earle fearing that his enemy (seeing his souldiers maimed and weary) would assault him, and in the night kill him: determined forthwith to flie, and so saue himselfe. So as contrarie to the counsell of the gouernours and others of his faction, he presently fled with his men to the Citie of *Prato*. So soone as hee came thither, finding himselfe out of feare, being in a place of securitie, remembered how great an errour he had committed: and desirous to amend the same, the next morning earely, marched with his men towards *Florence*: offering to enter the Citie by force, which by cowardise hee had abandoned, but that attempt tooke no successe, for the people which with difficultie might haue driuen him away, with facilitie could hold him out. So that with great sorow and shame, he went vnto *Casentino*, and the *Ghibilini* to their vilages. Thus the people remained with victorie, and for the comfort of those which loued the common wealth, determined to reunite the citie, and call home all citizens as well *Ghibilini* as *Guelfi*: by meanes whereof, the *Guelfi* after sixe yeares absence from the citie were returned. And the *Ghibilini* (notwithstanding the memorie of their late iniurie) were pardoned and put in their country: yet much hated both of the people and the *Guelfi*; for these could not forget their exile, and those remembered too much the tyrannie which was vsed during their authoritie: which things, caused that neither the one nor the other were contented. While in this forme the *Florentines* liued, it was reported, that *Corradino* nephew to *Manfredi*, should come with forces from *Germany* to the conquest of *Napoli*. Whereupon the *Ghibilini* tooke heart and hope, thereby to recouer their authoritie. And the *Guelfi* began to thinke how they might assure themselues of their enemies: for which purpose, they praised king *Carlo* to defend them in the time of *Corradino* his passage. The souldiers of *Carlo* being in march, made the *Guelfi* insolent, and amazed the *Ghibilini* so much, that two dayes before they arriued (without any violence offered) they fled. The *Ghibilini* thus departed, the *Florentines* reordained the state of their citie, & elected twelue chiefe men to be magistrates, and gouerne their citie for two moneths, whom they called not *Antiani*, but *Buoni Homini*. Next vnto them, they appointed a Councell of foure score Citizens, which they called *La Credenza*. After them, were an hundreth and foure score Commoners, who with the *Credenza* and the twelue *Buoni Homini*, were called the Councell generall. They ordeined moreouer one other Councell of a hundreth and twentie Citizens, of the Comonaltie and Nobilitie mixed, which should giue perfection, & confirmation to al things determined in the other Councels. This gouernment thus setled, the faction of the *Guelfi*, together with the Magistrates fortified the citie, to the end they might the better defend themselues from the *Ghibilini*, whose goods they diuided into three parts: the one, they employed to publike vses: the second was giuen to the Captaines; the third diuided amongst the *Guelfi*, in recompence of their losses. The pope also to maintain the *Guelfi* in *Toscana*, ordeined the King *Carlo* to bee Lieftenant Emperiall of that countrey. The *Florentines* thus holding themselues in reputation, by vertue of these new orders, gouerned all things well, with their lawes at home, and with their armes abroad. Then died the Pope, and after long disputation, in the end of two yeares, *Gregorio decimo* was elected: who hauing bene long time in *Soria* (and was at the time of his election) did not make so great account of the factions, as his predecessors had done. But returning hometowards *France*, being arriued at *Florence*, to performe the office of a good Pastor, sought to vnite that citie: wherein he preuailed so farre with the *Florentines*, as they were content that Commissioners for the *Ghibilini* might be receiued into *Florence*, to solicit the return of their faction, which was concluded. Notwithstanding, the *Ghibilini* were so terrified, as they durst not come home. The Pope laid the

New ordinances in Florence by the Guelfi.

Florence ex-
communicate.

The Pope
euer suspiti-
ous.

New ordi-
nances in Flo-
rence.

Florence re-
formed.

Priori.

the fault thereof to the citie, and being offended, did excommunicate the same. In which displeasure, the *Florentines* continued all the life of that Pope: but after his death the citie was absolved by Pope *Innocentio quinto*; to whom succeeded *Nicholao tertio*, descended of the house of *Orsini*. And because the Popes had alwaies in suspicion those that aspired to greatnes in *Italy*, (although by the fauour of the church they were thereunto attained) sought alwaies to put them backe. Therof grew many tumults and often variations, for the feare of him that was become strong, occasioned the aduancement of an other that was weake, who beeing likewise growne vp, was forthwith feared, and being feared, cast downe. This was the cause, that occasioned the kingdome to be taken from *Marfredi*, and giuen to *Carlo*. This was also that which caused the Pope to mistrust *Carlo*, and seek his destruction. *Nicholao tertio* then, for the reasons before said, found meanes through the helpe of the Emperour, that the government of *Toscana* was taken from *Carlo*: and in his place hee sent thither *Latino* his Legate. At that time *Florence* remained in verie hard estate, because the Nobilitie of the *Guelfi* were become insolent, and feared not the Magistrates: so as euerie of them committed murthers, and other violences without any iustice or punishment of those that committed the same; because they were alwaies by one or other great person fauoured. To bridle this great insolencie, it was by the chiefe of the people thought good to reuoke such as were banished: which gaue opportunitie to the Legate, to reunite the citie; and the *Ghibilini* returned home. In the place of twelue gouernours, there were foureteene made, for euerie part seuen, to gouerne the cittie during one yeare: and they to be elected by the Pope. *Florence* continued in this order of government two yeares. Then Pope *Martino* aspired to the Papacie, who being a French man, restored vnto king *Carlo*, all that authoritie which the Pope *Nicholao* had taken from him: wherby the factions in *Toscana* were suddenly reuiued. For the *Florentines* tooke Armes against the Emperours Gouernour, to deprive the *Ghibilini* of the government: therewith also to hold the great men in awe, they ordeined a new forme of government. The yeare 1282. beeing come, the companies of the Misteries hauing receiued their Magistrates & Ensigns, became greatly esteemed. They among themselues, elected in the place of the foureteene, three Citizens to remaine two moneths gouernours of the common-weale, and called them *Priori*: who might be either Commoners or Gentlemen, so that they were Merchants of some Miserie. Afterwards the chiefe Magistracie was reduced to fixe men, so as in euery part of the citie there might be one: which order continued till the yeare 1342. At which time the cittie was diuided into quarters, and the number of *Priori* encreased to nine, and diuerse times in that meane while (by reason of some accident) they were in number twelue. This Office was the meane (as shall hereafter appeare) that the Nobilitie was ruined; for then by many occasions they were excluded, and afterwards without respect oppressed; whereunto the Nobilitie at the beginning consented: for they vnwilling to bee vnited with the people, and desiring to haue all the state into their hands, and the people hauing like desire, became both losers. Then they appointed a pallace for their office, where by auncient custome, the Magistrates and Counsellours assembled, who were in honourable sort by Serieants and other Ministers there attended, albeit at the erection of this office, the officers were called *Priori*: yet afterwards (for more magnificence) was ioyned therunto the name of *Signory*. The *Florentines* for a space, among themselues remained quiet, during which time they made warre vpon the *Aretini*, because they had banished the *Guelfi*: and in *Campaldino* most fortunately wonne the victory. The cittie then encreasing in men and riches, thought good to encrease also the wals thereof, and therefore enlarged the circuit of the same to that compasse, which now wee

see:

see: for before that time the *Diametre* thereof, was onely that space which is from the old bridge, to *S. Lorenzo*. The wars abroad, and peace at home, had (as it were) worne out of *Florence* the factions of *Guelfi* and *Ghibilini*. Then remained only those humors (which naturally were wont to be in euerie cittie) betwixt the Nobilitie and the people. For the people desirous to liue according to law, and the great men studying to command them, becommeth a thing impossible they should accord together. This humour, so long as the *Ghibilini* held the citie in awe, was not discouered; but so soone as they were vanquished, it shewed the force thereof: for euerie day some popular man was iniured, and Magistrates knew not by what meanes to punish the same, because euerie Gentleman with the force of his friends defended himselfe. The Magistrates of the misterie, studying to remedie so great a mischief, prouided that euerie *Senate* in the beginning of their authoritie should create one *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*, a man elected in the number of Commoners, vnto whom was appointed one thousand men, vnder twentie Ensignes readie at all occasions to maintaine iustice, whensoever they were by their *Gonfalone* or their Captaine commanded. The first chosen was *Vbaldo Ruffoli*, he drew forth the *Gonfalone*, and razed the houses of the *Galetti*: because one of that Family had in *France* slaine a popular man. It was an easie thing for the misteries to make this order, by reason of the great hatred among the Nobilitie, who considered not of any prouision against them, till such time as they felt the bitter execution thereof; which, at the first gaue them great terror: neuertheless afterwards, they returned to their wonted insolencie. For alwaies some one of the Nobilitie being an Officer, had therby meanes to hinder the *Gonfaloniere*, in execution of his office. Moreouer, for that euerie accuser must produce his witnessse to proue the offence offered, and no man for feare of the Nobilitie durst giue witnessse, the citie in short space returned to the former discord: and the people iniured in the same sort as they were wont to bee; because iudgement was slow, and execution thereof wanted. The populer sort then not knowing what course to take, *Giano della Bella*, a Gentleman of auncient race (yet therewith one that loued the libertie of his Country) encouraged the chiefe of the misteries to reforme the disorders of the citie. By this Councell it was ordeined that the *Gonfaloniere* should remaine with the *Priori*, and haue foure thousand men at his commandement. They likewise made all the Nobilitie vncapable of the *Senate*, and euerie man that was accessarie in anie offence, to be as subiect to punishment as the principall. They decreed moreouer, that publique fame should suffice to receiue condemnation by the lawes, which they called *Ordinamenti della Giustitia*. By this mean the people gained great reputation, and *Giano della Bella* much hated: because thereby he became euill thought of by the Nobilitie, and reputed one that oppressed their authoritie. The rich Commoners did also enuie him, for that they imagined his credit ouermuch, which at the first occasion was so proued. For it shortly after happened, that in a fraie, one of the people chanced to be slaine; at which conflict diuerse Gentlemen were present; and among the rest, *Corso Donati*: vnto whom (as the most quarrellsome of the companie) the fault was laid, and by the Captaine of the people apprehended. Howsoever it were, either that *Corso* had not offended, or that the Captaine feared to commit him, he was presently set at libertie. Which deliuerie so greatly offended the people, that they tooke Armes and ranne to the house of *Giano della Bella*, desiring him to be a meane that those lawes might be obserued, whereof he had bene the inuentor. *Giano* willing that *Corso* should be punished, did not (as many thought he would do) cause the people to laie down their Armes, but perswaded them to go vnto the *Senate*, and praie them to looke vnto the matter. The people, in the meane while much moued, and supposing the Captaine

Discord between the nobility and the people.

New ordinances in fauour of the people.

Giano della Bella.

to haue offered iniurie, and also that *Giano* had forsaken them; went not to the *Senat*, but vnto the Captaines pallace, which they tooke and sacked. That fact greatly displeased all the Citizens, and those that desired the fall of *Giano* accused him, laying all the fault to his charge. Amongst the Lords of the *Senate*, one of his enemies happened to be: who accused him to the Captaine, for hauing stirred the people to sedition. During the time that this cause was in debating, the people armed, went againe to the house of *Giano*, and offered him defence against the *Senators* his enemies. But *Giano* would neither make proöfe of this populer fauour, nor yet commit his life to the Magistrates, because he feared the lewdnesse of these, and the inconstancie of those, so as to take occasion from his foes to offend him, and from his friendes to harme their countrey, he determined to depart, and so giuing place to enuie, and to deliuer the Citizens from that feare they had of him, went into voluntarie exile: notwithstanding he had with his great perill, deliuered the citie from seruitude of the Nobilitie. After his departure, the Nobilitie hoped greatly to recouer their dignities, and iudging that all their euill was by his mean procured, they assembled themselves together, and sent two of them to the *Senate* (which they thought did fauour them much) to entreate that by the same, the seuerelawes made to their preiudice, might in something be quallified: which request being knowne, troubled much the people, fearing that the *Senators* would grant the same: Insomuch as the desire of the Nobilitie, & the suspitiõ of the people, drew them to the sword. The Nobilitie made head in three places, at *S. Giouanni*, in the new market place, and in the *Piazza di Mozzi*. Their Captaines were, *Forese Adimari*, *Vanni di Mozzi*, and *Geri Spini*. The people on the other side, with their Ensigne, in great numbers assembled at the *Senators* pallace, who at that time dwelt neare vnto *S. Bruocolo*: and because the people had that *Senate* in suspition, they ioyned with them six Citizens for the gouernment. While the one and the other part prepared themselves to fight, some of the people, and some of the Nobilitie, together with certaine religious men of good fame; came betweene them and perswaded a peace: Letting the Nobilitie vnderstand, that the cause why the honours from them was taken, and the lawes against them made, proceeded of their owne pride and euil gouernment. And because they had before that time, taken Armes to recouer that which through their owne diuision and euil behauour had bene taken from them, it would not do other then occasion the ruine of their country, and hinder themselves. It was moreouer said vnto them, that the people, in number, riches and mallice, was much their superiour: and that these noble men by whom they thought to oppresse others, would not fight, but went their waies, so soone as the fight began. It was therefore a folly for them, against so great a multitude to contend: They perswaded the people on the other side, that it was no wisdome to seeke their will by way of extremitie, and that it was no part of iudgement to driue men into desperation: for whosoever hopeth of no good, feareth no euill. They ought also to remember, that the Noble men were those, which in the warres had honored the citie: therefore it was no reason nor iust occasion, why they should be so greatly hated. And moreouer, although the Nobilitie could be content not to possesse the supream offices, yet would they not endure to be driuen out of their Country. It were therefore well done to laie Armes aside and grow to agreement, not trusting to the multitude of the people: for it hath bene often seene, that the greater number haue by the lesse bene vanquished. Vpon these speeches grew diuers opinions among the people: many wold haue fought, as a thing that of force at one time or other must be; and therefore was better to do the same now, then afterwards when their enemies were become stronger. And though it were beleued that by mitigation of the lawes, the Nobilitie wold become contented, yet the pride of

Diuision betwixt the Nobilitie and people.

Perswasions to the Nobilitie to laie downe armes.

Perswasions vsed to the people.

of them was such, as without enforcement would neuer rest. Others of the people, wiser, better aduised, and of more quiet disposition, thought that the mitigation of the lawes was no great matter: but to fight one part against the other, was a thing of great importance. So in the end, this opinion preuailed, and it was provided, that no accusation against any of the Nobilitie, should bee receiued without witnesses. The Armes of the one and the other side, thus laide aside, either of them continued full of suspicion: fortifying themselves in their houses, and preparing weapons anew. Then the people reordeined the gouernment, restraining the same into a small number, mooued thereto, because that *Signoria* had bene fauoured of the Nobilitie: of whom, the chiefe were, *Mancini*, *Magalotti*, *Altouiti*, *Peruzzi*, and *Gerrettani*. The state thus settled, for more magnificence, and securitie of the *Senate*, in the yeare 1298. they builded their Pallace, and made a Court before it, of that place where the houses of the *Vberti* sometimes were. At this verie time were also the common prisons begunne, and within few yeares after, finished. For in those daies, our cittie was in as great and happie estate, as at anietime it hath bene: being full of men and reputation. The number of Cittizens fit for the warres, were numbered at thirtie thousand: and the people of the Countrey able for that purpose, amounted to threescore and tenne thousand. All *Toscana*, either as subiects or friends obeyed vs. And albeit betwixt the Nobilitie and people, some indignation and suspitiō were, yet no euil effect thereof followed, but euery man neighborly & peaceably liued. And had not this peace bene by new enimitie within the cittie disturbed, no forreine disorder could haue molested the state: because the cittie stood in such tearmes that it neither feared the Empire, nor those that were banished. And against all the states of *Italy*, it was of force sufficient to defend it selfe. That iniury therefore, which external forces could not do, by inward discord was performed. There were in *Florence* two families, one called *Circhi*, the other *Donati*; in riches, Nobilitie, and men mightie. Betweene them (being both in *Florence*, and the Countrey neare neighbors) there grew displeasure, yet not so great, as to occasion the vse of armes: neither would there perhaps thereof haue growne any great matter, had not the same bene by some new occasions encreased. Among the chiefe houses of *Pistoia*, is that of *Cancellieri*. It happened that *Lore* sonne of *Guglielmo*, and *Geri* sonne of *Bertaccio* (both of that familie) playing together, fell into quarrell, and *Geri* of *Lore* was lightly hurt. This chance greued *Guglielmo* much: and thinking with curtesie to amend the matter, made the same much worse. For he commanded his sonne to go vnto the house, where the father of the hurt man dwelled, and there aske pardon. The yoong man obeyed his father. Notwithstanding, that humble act, did no whit decrease the bitter disposition of *Bertaccio*, who caused *Lore* to be taken and holden by his seruants, till his hand were cut off; saying vnto him, return home vnto thy father, and tel him that wounds be cured with steele, and not with words. The crueltie of this fact so greatly offended *Guglielmo*, that he armed his friends to reuenge it. *Bertaccio* on the other side armed, to defend himselfe. Whereby, not onely these families, but all the cittie of *Pistoia* was diuided. And because these *Cancellieri*, were descended frō one of that name, who had two wiues: the one named *Biancha*, the one party, being descended of that woman, called their faction *Biancha*: the other partie to take a name contrarie) was called *Nera*. Betwixt them, at diuerse times diuerse conflicts and slaughters of men followed. At length both parties growing wearie, and yet not knowing how to bereconciled, did desire, either to make an end of their discord, or else to draw others into quarrels with them, and so encrease their faction. For which purpose they come to *Florence*. And the *Neri* hauing familiar acquaintance with the *Donati*, were by *Corso* (chiefe of that house) fauoured: which the *Bianchi* vnderstanding, to make

New reformation in Florence 1298.

New diuision of the Bianchi

themselves strong and able to resist the *Donati*, resorted to *Veri dei Circhi*: a man in euerie condition no whit inferiour to *Corso*. This humour come from *Pistoia*, encreased the olde hate betweene the *Circhi* and *Donati*: and was alreadie so apparant, that the *Priori* and other good Cittizens feared euerie houre, least some slaughter would therof ensue: and the whole citie be diuided. For preventing whereof, they resorted vnto the Pope, desiring him, that with his authoritie he would take order for these quarrels, which they themselves could not. The Pope sent for *Veri*, and pressed him to make peace with the *Donati*, whereat *Veri* seemed to maruell, & said, he had no quarrell vnto them, & because euerie peace presupposeth war, sith no war was betweene them, he knew not why any peace should be required. Then *Veri* returned from *Rome* without other conclusion. These humours so encreased, that euerie small accident (as often it happeneth) was like to bring great disturbance. In the moneth of May, (at which time the youth of *Florence* on feastiual dayes doo disport themselves publiquely in the streetes) it happened certaine yoong men of the *Donati*, with their friends, to come on horsebacke to behold the women dauncing, neare vnto *S. Trinita*, where staying awhile, thither chanced to come certaine Gentlemen of the house of *Circhi*: they also bringing with them some of their friends. They not knowing that the *Donati* were there (who stood before them) desirous to see the daunce, pressed forward with their horses, and shouldred them. Wherewith the *Donati* finding themselves offended, drew their swordes: and the *Circhi* as brauely prepared themselves to answer the assault. After many hurts giuen and taken, euerie man departed his way. This disorder happened in a very unhappie houre, because the whole Citie vpon that occasion was diuided: as well the people, as the great men, and the parties tooke name of *Bianchi* and *Neri*. The chiefe of the faction *Bianchi*, were the *Circhi*, and with them ioyned *Adimari Abbati*, some of the *Tosinghi*, *Bardi*, *Rossi*, *Frescobaldi*, *Nerli*, *Mannelli*, all the *Mozzi*, *Scali*, *Gherardini*, *Caualcanti*, *Malespini*, *Bostechi*, *Giandonati*, *Vecchietti*, and *Ariguzzi*. They were also followed by many populer families, and all the *Ghibilini* that were in *Florence*. So that through the great number that tooke part with them, they had welneare all the sway of the Cittie. The *Donati* on the other side, were chiefe of the partie *Nera*, and with them the rest of those families before named, that ioyned not with the *Bianchi*: and besides them, all the *Pazzi*, *Spini*, *Buondelmonti*, *Gianfiliazzi*, and *Brunelleschi*. This humour did not only infect the Citie, but also diuided the whole countrey. Whereupon the Captaines of misteries, with euerie other of the *Guelfi* that loued the Common weale, did feare, least the diuision should with time, ruine the cittie, and reuiue the *Ghibilini*. Wherefore they sent againe to Pope *Bonifacio*, to the end hee should deuise meane to saue that cittie, which had bene alwaies a shield of the church: and now likely either to be destroyed, or become subiect to the *Ghibilini*. The Pope sent then vnto *Florence* a Legate called *Mattheo de Acqua Sparta*, a Cardinall of *Portugall*, who finding difficultie in the *Bianchi* (which part as hee thought was the greater) feared the lesse, and departing from *Florence* offended, did excommunicate the cittie: whereby it became in worse estate then before his comming. Then the mindes of all men being full of offence, it happened that manie of the *Circhi* and *Donati*, meeting at a buriall, fell to words, and from words, to swordes. Whereof for that time followed nothing but tumult and disorder, and so euerie man returned home. The *Circhi* then determined to assault the *Donati*, with great numbers of people went to seeke them. But by the vertue of *Corso* they were put backe, and manie of them also verie sore wounded. All the Citie was vp in Armes, the *Signori*, and the Lawes were trodden downe with furie of greate men.

The

The wisest and best Citizens liued full of suspicion. The *Donati* and their partakers feared moste, because they could doo least. Thereupon *Corso*, and the other heades of the *Neri*, together with the Captaines of the misteries, resolved to entreate the Pope, to sende vnto *Florence* some one of the bloodroyall, hoping by his meanes to oppresse the *Bianchi*. This assembly and resolution was notified to the *Priori*, and of the aduerse part complained vpon, as a conspiracie against the libertie of the Cittie. Both the factions being at that time in Armes, the *Senators* (of whome *Dante* happened to bee one) by his counsaile and wisdom, tooke courage and Armed the people, with whome also ioyned manie of the Countrey. And so inforcing the heades of the factions to laie downe their Armes, banished *Corso Donati*, with the others of the part *Nera*. Moreouer, the *Senators* seeming to be indifferent in this iudgement, confined some of the *Bianchi*: who shortly after vnder colour of honest occasions returned home. *Corso* and his friends imagining themselues fauoured by the Pope, went vnto *Rome*, and with their presence perswaded the Pope vnto that, which before they had written. It happened at the same time that *Carlo de Vallois* the French Kings brother was in the Popes Court, called into *Italy* by the King of *Napoli*, to go into *Sicilia*. The Pope thought good (being desired thereunto by the banished men of *Florence*) to sende him to remaine at *Florence*, till such time as the season of the yeare better serued to passe the seas. Then went *Carlo* to *Florence*, and although the *Bianchi* who then gouerned, had him in suspicion, yet because hee was chiefe of the *Guelfi* and sent by the Pope, they durst not gainsay his comming, but to make him their friend, they gaue him authoritie to dispose of the Cittie according to his owne discretion. *Carlo* hauing receiued this power, armed all his friends and followers: which gaue the people great suspicion that hee intended to vsurpe the libertie. For preuenting of which mischiefe, order was giuen, that euerie Cittizen should arme himselfe, and stand with weapon at his owne doore, to be readie, if *Carlo* should at his entrie happen to enterprise any thing. The *Circhi* and other heads of the faction *Biancha* (hauing bene a while chiefe of the Common weale, and borne themselues in their offices proudly) were come into vniuersall hatred, which encouraged *Corso* and others, banished men of the faction *Nera*, to come to *Florence*; knowing that *Carlo* with the Captaines of companies would fauour them. When the Citie through the mistrust of *Carlo* was armed, *Corso* with the banished men and many others that followed him, came vnto *Florence*: and without let, entered the Citie. And though *Veri de Circhi*, was perswaded to haue encountred him, yet would he not, saying that the people of *Florence* (against whom he came) and not he should punish him. But the contrary came to passe, for he was by the people receiued, and not punished. And it behoued *Veri* for his owne safetie to flie. For *Corso* hauing entered the gate called *Pinti*, made head at *S. Pietro Maggiore*, neare to his owne house, whither many friends and many people desirous of noueltie, came. And first deliuered all the prisoners that had bene either for publique or priuate cause committed. Then they enforced the *Senators* to returne to their houses as priuate persons: and elected in their places populer men of the faction *Nera*. For five dayes also they sacked those that were the chiefe of the part of *Biancha*. The *Circhi* and other Princes of that faction were gone out of the Citie, and retired to their places of force. And not seeing *Carlo* to entermedle, the greater part of the people became their enemies. Wherupon though they would not before follow the Councell of the Pope, now they were inforced to pray his aide, letting him vnderstand, that *Carlo* was come to disunite, and not to vnite the Citie. Then the Pope sent againe his Legate, *Mattheo d'Acqua Sparta*, who perswaded a peace

Carlo di vallois, made
Gouernor of
Florence.

betweene the *Circhi* and the *Donati*, confirming the same with new alliances and marriages. Hee also laboured that the *Bianchi* might bee partakers of the Offices in government: whereto the *Neri* (mistrusting the state should receiue thereby some hinderance) would not consent. The Legate thereupon grew offended, and departed from thence as discontented, as hee had bene the time before, leauing the Cittie disobedient and curied. Thus remained the one and the other part euill satisfied. The *Neri* seeing their aduersaries at hand, feared least with their ruine, they should recouer the authoritie by them lost. And the *Bianchi* seeing themselves deprived of authoritie and honour, therewith being had in disdain and suspition, were offered new iniuries. *Nicholo de Circhi*, accompanied with diuerse his friendes, and going towards his possessions, passing the bridge *Affrico*, was there assaulted by *Simone* sonne of *Corso Donati*. This conflict was great, and of either side verie bloodie: for *Nicholo* was slaine, and *Simone* so hurt, as the next night hee died. This chaunce troubled all the Cittie anew, and albeit the part *Nera* was therein most culpable, yet by those that gouerned, they were defended. Also, before iudgement giuen, was discovered, that the *Bianchi* had entered a conspiracie with *Pietro Feranti*, a Barron belonging to *Carlo*. In which treason, they practised to place themselves againe in the government. This matter came to light, by Letters which the *Circhi* had written to the Barron: yet some men held opinion that those Letters were not true, but forged by the *Donati*, to shadowe the infamie, that by the death of *Nicholo* they had incurred. Thereupon all the *Circhi* were confined, with all their followers of the parte *Biancha*: amongst whome was *Dante* the Poet. Their goods were solde, and their houses razed. These banished men, ioyned with many *Ghibilini*, disposed them selues into manie places, and hoping with new trauailes and troubles to finde new fortune, and *Carlo* hauing done that in *Florence* for which hee came, departed and returned to the Pope, to go on his enterprise of *Sicilia*: wherein hee shewed himselfe no wiser, nor better then hee was in *Florence*. So that with the losse of many of his, hee returned into *Fraunce* dishonoured. After the departure of *Carlo*, the Cittie continued quiet. *Corso* onely was enclined to trouble, because hee thought himselfe not in that authoritie that hee ought to bee, but sawe the government in the hands of populer men, farre his inferiours. Hee then mooued with these passions, thought to performe a dishonest intent, by an honest occasion, slaundering manie Cittizens, who had the custodie of the publique treasure: saying that they had imployed the same to their priuate commodities, and therefore it were well done to examine their dooings and punish them for the same. This his euill opinion was allowed by manie that were men of the like disposition: with whome also manie others, through ignorance ioyned: because they thought *Corso* had bene indeede mooued thereunto with the loue of his Country. On the other side the Cittizens slaundered, hauing loue borne them of the people, defended themselves. In so much, as this diuersitie of opinions, after ciuill disputation brought them to Armes. On the one part was *Corso Donati* and *Lottieri*, Bishoppe of *Florence*: with manie great men, and some Commoners. On the other part, was the *Senate*, with the greater number of the people: so that the moste part of the Cittizens did fight. The *Senators* seeing the daunger wherein they were to bee great, prayed aide of the *Lucchesi*, and suddenly all the people of *Lucca* were in *Florence*: by whose authoritie, for that time, all thinges were composed. These tumultes appeased and asswaged, the people continued in their authoritie, and the libertie preserved, without any other punishment

New troubles
by corso Do-
nati.

ment of him that moued the flander. The Pope vnderstanding the troubles of *Florence*, to pacifie the same, sent thither his Legate called *Nicholao de Prato*, who being a man for degree, learning, and good behauiour, greatlie reputed, obeyned easily so much fauour, as to haue authoritie to dispose of the state as himselfe thought good; and for that hee was in faction a *Ghibilin*, hee intended to call home those that were banished: yet first thought good to win fauour of the people. To that end he reuued the auncient companies, which greatly strengthened him, and weakened the Nobilitie. The Legate then (perswaded that the people were become all his) practised to call home those that had bene banished. For the compassing whereof he proued many meanes, which did not onely take euill successe, but also made himselfe thereby so much suspected among those that gouerned, as he was therby enforced to depart, and returne home to the Pope, leauing *Florence* full of confusion, and excommunicate. In the citie at that time remained not only one humour, but many, to the disturbance thereof: being there in the displeasure betwixt the people and the Nobilitie, the *Ghibilini* and the *Guelfi*, the *Bianchi* and *Neri*. All the citie tooke Armes, because many Cittizens who desired the returne of the banished men, were euill content with the Legates departure. The chiefe of those that moued the quarrell, were the *Medici* and *Guigni*, who together with the Legate were discovered to fauour the Rebels: In sundrie parts of the citie the people fought. To which disorder, there happened a fire, first in *Orto Sante Michele*, at the houses of the *Abati*: from whence it passed to the houses of the *Caponfacci* and burnt them, with the houses of *Muzzi*, *Amieri*, *Toschi*, *Cipriani*, *Lamberti*, and *Caualcanti*, and all the new market. From thence it passed to the gate of *S. Maria*, and burnt all that, returning about *Ponte Vecchio*, and consumed the houses of *Gherardini*, *Pulci*, *Amidei*, and *Luccardesi*, with many others, that the number amounted to 1700. or more. Some were of opinion that this fire happened by chance in the fury of the conflict. Others affirme, that one *Neri Abati*, Prior of *S. Pietro Scarragio*, a man dissolute and desirous of mischief, kindled the same. For seeing euerie man occupied in the conflict, knew he might do that displeasure, which no other could remedie. And to the end it might the rather haue successe, hee set fire in the houses of his owne companions. It was the yeare 1304. in the moneth of Iuly, when the citie of *Florence* was with fire and sword in this sort afflicted. *Corso Donati* was hee, that of all others in these tumults armed not himselfe, because hee hoped the rather to be Iudge and Vmpire betwixt the parties: when being weary of fight, they should be content to be perswaded. Notwithstanding, weapons were laide downe rather for very wearinesse and necessitie, then through any pacification or perswasion of peace. For this onely followed thereof, that the Rebels should not returne, and the faction that faouored them remained with disaduantage. The Legate returning to *Rome*, and hearing the troubles that were begunne in *Florence*, perswaded the Pope, that for the vniting of that Cittie, it was necessarie for him to send thither for twelue principall Cittizens, whereby the roote of the mischief removed, it should be the more easie to quench the same. This Councell was by the Pope allowed, and the Cittizens sent for, appeared. Amongst whom was *Corso Donati*. When these Cittizens were absent, the Legate wrote vnto the Rebels, that the chiefe of the Cittizens were from home, and therefore the time serued well for them to returne vnto *Florence*. Which encouragement being receiued, they assembled their forces and came to the Cittie, entering where the walles were not fully finished: and passed forward, till they came to the *Piazza di Saint Giouanni*. It was a thing notable, to see how those cittizens, who had lately fought for the Rebelles, so long as disarmed they desired reuocation, being now armed,

Medici and
Guini.

A fier: 1700
houses burnt.

and forcing the citie, became their enemies, and tooke armes against them. So much the common good was by those Citizens esteemed and preferred before priuate friendship. Wherefore they vniting themselues with all the people, enforced the rebels to depart and returne from whence they came. This enterprise had no successe, both because the banished men had left part of their forces at *Lastria*: and for not hauing tarried the comming of *Tolosetto Vbarti*, who should haue come from *Pistoia* with three hundreth men. But they imagined, that expedition should haue preuailed more then force (as often in like cases it so happeneth) that delaies do hinder occasion: and haste wanteth force. The Rebels being gone back, *Florence* returned to the wonted diuisions. Then to take authoritie from the house of *Caualcanti*, the people by force remoued them from possession of the Castle called *Le Stinche*, seated in the vale of *Greue* aunciently belonging thereto. And because the souldiers therein taken, were the first that were put into that prison newly builded, that prison euer after, was called *Le Stinche*, by the name of the Castle from whence the prisoners came. Also those that were chiefe of the Common-weale, renewed the companies of the people, and gaue them Ensignes as had bene before ordered: making *Gonfalonieri* of the misteries, calling them *Colleggio di Signori*. They ordeined also, that the Senate should reforme all disorders, in time of warre, by Armes, and in time of peace, by Counsell. They ioyned vnto the two old *Rettori* one *Essecutore*, who, together with the *Gonfalonieri*, should reforme the insolencie of the great men. In the meane time died the Pope, and *Corso* with other Citizens was returned from *Rome*. The Cittie should then haue continued quiet, had it not bene with the vnquietnesse of *Corso* anew disturbed. He, to gaine himselfe reputation, euer vsed to hold opinion contrarie to men of most authoritie: and wherunto he found the people enclined (to gaine their fauour) that way he directed his authoritie. Whereby he made himselfe head of all new opinions, and to him resorted all those who sought to obtaine any thing by extraordinary meane. For that cause many great Citizens did hate him, which hatred encreased so much, as the faction of *Neri* came to open diuision, because *Corso* employed priuate forces, and such as were enemies to the state. Notwithstanding, so great was the authoritie of his person and presence, that euerie man feared him: yet to winne from him the populer fauour (as by such kinde of meanes might easily be done) a brute was put forth, that he went about to tyrannize the citie: which was easily beleeued, because his maner of liuing did in troth surpasse the charge of ciuil expence. That opiniō was encreased greatly, after he tooke to wife the daughter of *Vgucione della Faggiola*, chiefe of the faction *Ghibilini & Bianca*, in *Toscana* most mightie. This alliance come to knowledge, the aduerse part tooke Armes, and the people for the same occasion refused to defend him: the chiefe of them ioyning with his enemies. The greatest of his aduersaries were *Rosso della Tosa*, *Pazzino de Pazzi*, *Geri Spini*, and *Berto Brunelleschi*: they with their followers, and the greater part of the people, assembled themselues armed at the foote of the Pallace, of the *Signori*. By whose order an accusation was preferred to *Piero Brancha* (Captain of the people) against *Corso Donati*, for that he, with the aide of *Vgucione*, sought to make himselfe a tyrant. Then was he cited to appeare, and after for contumacie iudged a Rebell. Betwixt his accusation & the iudgement pronounced, was not longer time then two houres. This sentence giuen, the companies of the people vnder their Ensignes, marched towards him. *Corso* on the other side was not dismaied, (though he were abandoned by many his friends) nor for the sentence pronounced, nor yet with the authoritie of the *Senators*, nor the multitude of his enemies: but fortified his house, hoping there to defend himselfe, till he were rescued by *Vgucione*, for whom he had sent. All his houses, & all the waies vnto them, were fortified & made close:

New reformation in Florence.

Corso Donati.

Corso condemned.

and

and within, many of his faction to defend them. So that, the people (though in great numbers come thither) could not enter: The conflict was great, many slaine, and many hurt of either side. And the people seeing that by those wayes they could not preuaile, brake the houses of his neighbours, and by that deuise not mistrusted, did enter. *Corso* then seeing himselfe beset with enemies, and no longer trusting to the helpe of *Vgucione*, resolved to see what meane he could finde to saue himselfe, sith of victorie hee viterly dispaired. Then with *Gherardo Bondini*, and many others his most valiant and faithfull friends, he charged his enemies with so great furie, as he brake them, and made way to passe through to the gate of the Citie, where they got out. Yet were they still pursued, *Gherardo* vpon the bridge *Affrico*, was by *Boccaccio Canicciuzoli* slaine. *Corso* also was taken at *Bouezano*, by certaine horsemen belonging to the *Senate*. Notwithstanding being brought towards *Florence*, hating the sight of his enemies, and the glorie of their victorie, he fell from his horse, and was by one of them which ledde him, there murdered. The bodie was after taken vp by the Monkes of *S. Salui*, and (without any honor) by them buried. This was the end of *Corso Donati*, vnto whom, his country, & the faction of *Neri*, for many deeds both good and bad, must acknowledge it selfe beholding. But had his disposition & mind bene more quiet, the memorie of him had deserued great honour. For indeed he was a Citizen so rare, as had at any time before bene seene in our citie. Yet true it is, that his factious mind bereft him of that honour which by his country and confederates was due: and in the end, procured his owne death, with many other misadventures. *Vgucione* comming to the rescue of his sonne in law, & arriued at *Remoli*, heard there that *Corso* was by the people taken. Wherupon, knowing that he could by no means then helpe him, for not hurting himselfe, returned backe. *Corso* thus ending his life (which happened in the yeare 1308. was the cause that all tumults ceased, and the citie continued quiet, till such time as intelligence was giuen, that *Arrigo* the Emperour (who faouered by the *Florentine* Rebelles) was come into *Italy*, followed by them, and intending to put them againe in possession of their country. For preuenting of which mischief, the Magistrates of the citie thought good to call home all those that had not bene by speciall name banished: whereby the number of their enemies should be the lesse. The greater number that remained in exile were *Ghibilini*, and some fewe of the faction *Bianca*, among whom were *Dante Alighieri*, the sonnes of *Veri de Cerchi*, and *Giano della Bella*. They sent also for aide to *Roberto* King of *Napoli*, which not obtained at his hand as their friend: they were enforced to giue him the citie for fise yeares; to the end, he might defend them as his subiects. Then the Emperour passed into *Italy*, and by the way of *Pisa*, went to *Rome*, there to be crowned, in the yeare 1312. Afterwards, determining to reforme *Florence*, hee returned thither by *Perugia* and *Arezzo*: and lodged his Campe at the Monastery of *S. Salui*, distant one myle from the citie; where he remained fiftie dayes, without any good done, and therefore as desperate of successe, remoued to *Pisa*; where he agreed with *Federigo* King of *Sicilia*, to assault the kingdom of *Napoli*. Being with his Army there arriued, in great hope of victorie, and the King *Roberto* in great feare of his distraction, at *Buonconuento* he died. It happened shortly after, that *Vgucione di Faggiola*, became Prince of *Pisa*, and not long after of *Lucca*: brought thither by the faction of *Ghibilini*, with whose aide he greatly iniured his neighbours. Amongst whom, the *Florentines* to be deliuered, gaue vnto the brother of King *Roberto*, the gouernment of their Army. *Vgucione* on the other side, for the encreasing of his power, laboured continually, till by force and subiltie he had gotten many Castles in the vale of *Arno* and *Nieuole*. Then marching towards *Monte Catini*, with intent to besiege the same, the *Florentines* thought it necessarie to rescue that place, leass the losse thereof might disturbe

The death of
Corso Donati
1308.

The Emperor
Arrigo called
into Italy.
1312.

The death of
Arrigo.

New dition
in Florence.

Lando de
Agobio, made
Gouernor of
Florence.

to the
house of
the King

Castruccio
castracani.

disturbe the whole countrey. Then assembling a great Army, they passed into the vale *Nieuole*, where they fought with *Vgucione*, and in the end of their battaile, two thousand or more of their men were slaine, with *Piero* the Kings brother their Generall; whose bodie afterwards was neuer found: neither was this victorie without losse to *Vgucione*, whose sonne was also killed, with many Captaines and Leaders of his Armie. The *Florentines* after this ouerthrow, fortified the townes about them, and the King *Roberto* sent them a new Generall called *Andrea Earle Nouello*. By whose gouernment, (or rather by the naturall inclination of the *Florentines*, discontented with euerie state, and diuided by euerie accident) notwithstanding the warres they lately had with *Vgucione*, fell to faction. The one part whereof, called themselves the Kings friends, the other the Kings enemies. The chiefe of the Kings enemies, were *Simon della Tosa*, the house of *Magalotti*, with certaine other populer men, in whom rested the chiefe of the gouernment. These men found meanes to send into *France* and *Germany*, to leaue Captaines and souldiers to remoue the Earle *Andrea* Gouernour for the King. But their fortune was such, as could not bring to passe that they desired: yet did they not abandon the enterprise, but beeing disappointed both by *France* and *Germany*, they found out a Gouernour in *Agobio*, and before his comming, remoued *Andrea*. *Lando de Agobio* being come, was made their minister, or rather their hangman, hauing receiued absolute authoritie ouer all the citizens. He, being a man conetous and cruell, accompanied with his souldiers (all armed) visited euerie streete, murdering euerie man, whom those that elected him, would require. Yea, (such was his insolencie) that he caused false mony to be quoined with the stampe of *Florence*, and no man durst gainsay the doing therof: so great was the authoritie whereunto the discord of the citie had brought him. Great and lamentable was the estate of this towne, which neither the memorie of passed diuision, neither the feare of *Vgucione*, nor the authoritie of the King could reforme. In most miserable plight it then remained, when the country abroad was spoyled by *Vgucione*, and the citie within by *Lando* of *Agobio* sacked. The Kings friends were all contrary to *Lando* and his followers. Likewise all Noble houses, the chiefe of the people, & al the *Guelfi*. Notwithstanding, because the aduerse party had the gouernment, they could not without perill to themselves be discovered. Yet resolving to be deliuered from so dishonest a tyrannie, they wrote secretly vnto the King *Roberto*, to make the Earle *Guido Buttifolle* his Lieftenant in *Florence*: which the King presently did, and the aduerse part (notwithstanding that the *Senators* were contrarie to the King) durst not for the respect they bare to the Earle, finde fault. But the Earle had not therby much authoritie, because the *Senators* & the *Gonfaloniere* were by *Lando* and his partie fauoured. During the continuance of these troubles in *Florence*, the daughter of King *Alberto* comming from *Germany*, passed that way in her iourney towards *Carlo*, the sonne of *Roberto* her husband. She was greatly honoured by the Kings friends, and they imparted vnto her the state of the citie, and the tyrannie of *Lando* with his followers. In so much as by the fauour of her, before her departure the citie was pacified, *Lando* remoued from his authoritie, and with riches, blood, and spoile, sent home to *Agobio*. The gouernment also of the King ouer the citie, for three yeares was continued. And whereas there had bene before seuen *Senators* elected by *Lando*, six more were chosen for the King, so the Magistrates were for a time thirteene. After, they were reduced to the auncient number of seuen. About this time *Vgucione* was deprived of his authoritie in *Lucca* & *Pisa*; and *Castruccio Castracani*, from a priuate Cittizen, aspired to be Lord of *Lucca*: for hee being a yoong man of great courage, & in euerie enterprise fortunate, became in short space the principall Leader of all the *Ghibilini* in *Toscana*. For which respect, the *Florentines* setting

setting aside priuate discord, deuised with themselues by what meanes *Castruccio* might be kept downe: and how his forces alreadie growne might be resisted. And to the end that the *Senators* might with better counsell be aduised, & with more authoritie execute the same, they elected twelue Citizens, whome they called *Boni Homini*: without whose consent and counsell, the *Senators* might not do any thing of importance. In this mean while, the gouernment of king *Roberto* was expired, & the citie became Prince ouer it selfe, with the auncient Magistrates and gouernors thereof. Also the great feare they had of *Castruccio*, did hold the same vnited, hee hauing done many things against the Lords of *Lunigiana*, and assembled *Prato*. The *Florentines* hearing those newes, resolued: and determining to rescue that towne, shut vp their shops and went confusedly together, to the number of twentie thousand footmen, and fifteene hundreth horse. Also to diminish the strength of *Castruccio*, and encrease their owne, the *Senators* by proclamation gaue notice, that whatsoeuer Rebell of the faction of *Guelfi*, would come to the rescue of *Prato*, should be after the enterprise restored to his country. Vpon this proclamation more then foure thousand Rebels came presently thither. This great Army in haste conducted to *Prato*, so much terrified *Castruccio*, that without triall of his fortune by fight, he retired to *Lucca*. Then grew great controuersie within the Campe of the *Florentines*, betwixt the Nobilitie and the people: for these would haue followed the enemy, hoping by fight to haue ouerthrowne him; and those would returne backe, saying, it sufficed that they had hazarded *Florence* to succour *Prato*. Which was well done, being constrained by necessitie, but sith the cause was now remooued, no wisdom would (where litle was to be gotten and much to be lost) that fortune should be further tempted. This matter (the people not agreeing) was referred to the *Senators*, who found among themselues the same diuersitie of opinions that was betweene the people and the Nobilitie: which being knowne, much company assembled in the Market place, vsing great words of threatnings to the Nobilitie; In so much that they for feare, gaue place to the will of the people: but all too late, because in the meane while the enemy was with safetie retired to *Lucca*. This disorder brought the people into so great indignation of the Nobilitie, that the *Senators* would not performe the promise, by their consent giuen to the Rebels: which the Rebels vnderstanding, and hoping to preuent the *Senate* before the Campe arriued at *Florence*, offered to enter the gates. But their intent being discovered by those in the Citie, were repulsed. Then they sought to compasse that by perswasion, which by force they could not, and sent eight Ambassadors to put the *Senators* in remembrance of their promise, and the perill they had vnder the same aduentured, hoping of that reward which was by them offered. The Nobilitie thereby put in mind, & knowing themselves by promise bound, laboured greatly in the fauour of the Rebels. Notwithstanding, by reason the people were offended, for not following the enterprise of *Castruccio*, nothing was obtained: which afterward proued the great shame & dishonour of the citie. For many of the Nobilitie therewith displeas'd, did assaie to win that by force, which by entreatie they could not. For which purpose, they conspired with the rebelles to enter the Cittie armed, and they would take armes also for their aide. This appointment before the day of execution, was discovered: whereby the banished men at their comming found the cittie armed, and order giuen to apprehend them abroad, and keepe downe those that were within. Thus this enterprise was in euerie respect without successe. After the departure of the rebels, the citizens desired to punish those by whose meanes they did come thither. And albeit euerie man knew who were the offenders, yet no man durst name them, much lesse accuse them. Therefore to vnderstand the troth without respect, it was ordered, that secretly

cretly the names of the offenders should bee written, and priuillie deliuered to the Captaine. In this accusation were named *Amerigo Donati, Teghiao, Frescobaldi, & Lotteringo Gerardini*: who hauing Iudges more fauourable, then perhaps they deserued, were onely condemned in pecuniall punishment. The tumults which grew in *Florence* by comming of the Rebels to the gate, made triall that one Chieftaine for all the companies of the people did not suffice: and therefore they required after, that to euerie company might be appointed three or foure Leaders; and to euerie *Gonfaloniere* two or three others, whom they would haue called *Penmonieri*. To the end, that in time of necessitie all the companie not assembling, part of them, vnder one head might be imployed. Moreouer (as it happeneth in all common weales after any accident) some old lawes be disanulled, & some others are made new: so the *Senate* before appointed from time to time, the *Senators* with the *Collegi* which then were (to the end their force might be the greater) had authority giuen them and their successors, to continue in office during the space of fortie moneths. And because many Citizens feared their names not to be put into the bagge, they procured a new Imborfation. Of this beginning, grew the election of Magistrates, as well within, as without the Citie: which election was in those dayes called *Imborfation*. Afterwards the same was called *Squittini*. And for that euerie three, or at the most fiue yeares, this order was taken, the occasion of tumults in the Citie, at the choice of Magistrats, was remooued, yet were they ignorant of such discommodities, as vnder this small commoditie was hidden. The yeare 1315. being come, and *Castruccio* hauing surprised *Pistoia*, was growne to that greatnesse, that the *Florentines* fearing the same, determined before such time as he was settled in his Principallitie, to assault him, and bring him vnder their obedience. For which purpose they leuied twentie thousand foote men, and three thousand horse. With these forces they besieged *Altopassio*, in hope by hauing of that Towne, to impeach the passage of those that would come to the succour of *Pistoia*. The *Florentines* preuailed in this enterprize, and hauing taken the place, marched towards *Lucca*, spoiling the country where they went. Notwithstanding, through the small wisdom of the Generall, or rather his infidelitie, little good ensued thereof. This Captaine was called *Ramondo de Cardona*. Hee, seeing the *Florentines* to haue bene liberall of their libertie, giuing the same somtimes to Kings, and sometimes to the Legates of Popes, and men of meane qualitie: thought it possible to bring himselfe to be a Prince; if first he could lead them into some great necessitie. He gaue them therefore to vnderstand, that for his better reputation, it was meete for him to haue the same authoritie within the Citie, that he had in the Army: otherwise he should not haue that obedience of his souldiers which belonged vnto a Generall. Whereto the *Florentines* not consenting, the Army proceeded slowly, or rather euerie day losing somewhat: and *Castruccio* continually gained. Because, by that time were come vnto him diuerse supplies sent by the *Visconti*, and other tyrants of *Lombardy*. *Castruccio* by this meane growne strong, and *Ramondo* hauing neglected his seruice: as for want of fidelitie he did not prosper at the first, so he could not after saue himselfe: for whilest he lingered with his Camp, *Castruccio* did assault him, and ouerthrew him, neare vnto *Altopassio*. In which conflict many Citizens were slaine, and with them *Ramondo* himselfe: who thereby found the punishment of fortune, which his infidelitie and euill seruice to the *Florentines* deserued. The displeasures which *Castruccio* did after the victorie, by spoyling, distroying, burning, imprisoning, & killing, cannot be told. Because without any resistance he rode vp and down in the country, where himselfe listed, spoyling, and committing what cruelties hee thought good. The *Florentines* scantly able, after so great an ouerthrow, to defend the citie: yet were they not so greatly dismayd, but that they made much prouision,

Ramondo di
Cardona,
Generall for
the Florents.

The Floren-
tines ouer-
throwne by
Castruccio.

both

both of men and money: sending also to their friends, to haue their aide. All which sufficed not to bridle the furie of so mightie an enemy. Wherefore as constrained, they made choise of *Carlo* Duke of *Calauria*, son to King *Roberto*, to be their Prince: offering him, not their friendship, but their obedience, and prayed him to defend their Citie. But *Carlo* being occupied in the warres of *Sicilia* (and therefore not at leisure to come in person, sent thither *Gualtieri*, by Nation a French man, and Duke of *Athene*. He as deputie for his maister, tooke possession of the Citie, and placed officers according to his owne discretion. Notwithstanding, his behauiour was so modest, and contrary to his owne nature; that euerie man loued him. *Carlo* hauing ended the warres of *Sicilia*, being followed with a thousand horse men came to *Florence*, and made his entry in the yeare 1326. whose comming staid *Castruccio* from spoyling of the *Florentines* countrey. But that reliefe which was found abroad, was lost within, and those displeasures which the enemies could not, were by friends performed. Bicause the *Senators* did nothing without the Dukes consent: who within the space of one yeare, leuied in the Citie foure thousand *Florins*, notwithstanding that by the capitulation with him taken, it was agreed, hee should haue but two thousand. So great impositions were daily by him or his exacted. To these displeasures new suspitions, and new enemies were discouered. For the *Ghibilini* of *Lombardy* suspected so much the comming of *Carlo* into *Toscana*, that *Galiazzo Visconti* & other tyrants of *Lombardy*, by mony and promises, procured *Lodouico di Baniera* Emperour elected, against the Popes wil to come into *Italy*: who being arriued in *Lombardy*, marched towards *Toscana*, where with the helpe of *Castruccio* hee became Lord of *Pisa*. And being relieued with mony, he went towards *Rome*: which caused *Carlo* to leaue *Florence*, and returne to the kingdome, leauing *Philippo de Saggi-netto* his Lieftenant. *Castruccio*, after the Emperours departure possessed *Pisa*, and the *Florentines* tooke from him by practise, *Pistoia*, which *Castruccio* after besieged, with so great vertue and resolution, that although the *Florentines* many times assaied to rescue the Towne, sometimes assailing the Army, and sometimes disturbing the Country: yet could they neuer either by force or industry, remoue him from that enterprize. So greatly he thirsted to chastise the *Pistoiesi*, and offend the *Florentines*. By meanes whereof, the *Pistoiesi* were constrained to receiue him for their Prince: which thing, albeit were greatly to his glorie, proued in the end his disadvantage. For being returned to *Lucca*, there he died. And because that one good or euil hap, commeth sildome vnaccompanied, with the like: also at the same time died *Carlo* Duke of *Calauria* Prince of *Florence*, as it were, to the end that the *Florentines* beyond all expectation might be deliuered from the government of the one, and the feare of the other. They thus become free, reformed the cittie, disannulled all orders of the olde Councelles, and created twoo newe Councelles: the one hauing in it three hundreth Cittizens Commoners, and the other two hundreth and fiftie Gentlemen, and Commoners, mixed. The first of these, was called the Councell of the people, the other the common Councell. The Emperour beeing arriued at *Rome*, created an *Antipope*, and ordered many things in prejudice of the church, and many other things also hee attempted without effect. And therefore with this honour he remoued from *Rome* to *Pisa*; where, either of melancholy, or for want of mony to paie eight hundred *Almaine* horsemen, who were rebelled, and at *Monte-chiaro* had fortified themselues, died. They, so soone as the Emperour departed from *Pisa* to go vnto *Lombardy*, surprised *Lucca*, and draue out of that cittie *Francesco Castracani*, left there by the Emperour. Then being possessed of that cittie, and intending to make profit thereof, offered to sell it to the *Florentines*, for threescore thousand *Florins*, & was refused by the Councell of *Simon della Tosa*. This refusal would haue

The Duke of
Athene, Go-
uernour of
Florence.

The Empe-
rour Lodo-
uico called
into Italy.

The death of
castruccio &
carlo Duke of
calauria.

New refor-
mation in Flo-
rence.

The death of
Lodouico.

The troubles
and war in
Florence all
ceased.

Conspiracy
against Iaco-
mo Gabrieli
of Agobio.

haue bene to our cittie most profitable, if the *Florentines* had euer continued in that minde: but because shortly after they changed opinion, it was greatly to our losse. For if at that time for so small price, they might so peaceably haue had it, and would not, afterward desiring it, and offering much more then was required, they could not obtaine it: which was the occasion, that *Florence* many times with great preiudice hath changed the gouernment. *Lucca* being thus by the *Florentines* refused, was by *Gerardino Spinola* of *Genoua*, for thirtie thousand Florins bought. And because men be more slow to laie hold of that which they may come by, then to desire that they cannot attaine vnto: so soone as this bargaine made with *Gerardino* was knowne, and how small a summe of mony he paid; the people of *Florence* became greatly desirous to haue it, repenting themselues, and blaming those that were the cause that the bargaine proceeded not. Then sought they to get that by force, which for money was refused. For obtaining whereof, they sent their souldiers to spoile the country belonging to *Lucca*. In this meane time, the Emperour was gone out of *Italy*, and the Antipope by order of the *Pisani*, sent prisoner into *France*. The *Florentines* then, from the death of *Castruccio* (which happened in the yeare 1328. til the yeare 1340. continued quiet within, & attended their matters of state abroad. They also made many wars in *Lombardy*, for the comming thither of king *Iohn* of *Bohemia*, & in *Toscana*, touching the state of *Lucca*. They likewise ornesied their cittie with new buildings. For in that time, the Tower of *S. Reparata*, according to the direction of *Giotto* (an excellent Painter), was builded. And because, in the yeare 1333. by meanes of a maruelous flood, the Riuer of *Arno* into many places ouerflowed the cittie, more then 12. cubits; many bridges and buildings were thereby decaied, which with great care and expence were now restored. But the yeare 1340. being come, new occasions of alteration were growne vp. The citizens of most power, had two meanes to encrease and maintain their greatnesse. The one, by restraining the number of those that should be elected Magistrates, whereby the offices of authoritie came either vnto them, or their friends. The other, because themselues being chiefe at the election of the *Rettori*, they were by them in their offices the more fauoured. And this second cause they esteemed so much, that to these two ordinarie *Rettori*, they also ioyned a third: whom they in those dayes brought in extraordinarie, vnder the title of Captaine of the Guard, and placed therein *Iacamo Gabrieli de Agobio*, giuing him absolute authoritie ouer the citizens. He, day by day, before the face of them that gouerned, committed many iniuries, & among those that were iniured, was *Piero de Bardi*, and *Bardo Frescobaldi*. They, being gent. and naturally proud, could not endure that a stranger wrongfully, and in the presence of some Magistrates had done them iniurie: which, both against him, and those that gouerned, they conspired to reuenge. Into that conspiracie, entered many Noble families, and some of the people; whom the tyrannie of him that gouerned, did offend. The order of execution agreed vpon, was, that euery man shuld assemble into his house as many armed men as he could, and in the morning of All Saints day, when euerie bodie was in the church, to take armes, and kill the Captaine. Which done, they determined to place new *Senators*, and with new orders to reforme the state. But because enterprises of perill, the more they be thought vpon, the more vnwillingly be performed. It alwaies happeneth, that cōspiracies not suddenly executed, are for the most part discovered. There was among the conspirators one called *Andrea de Bardi*, (in whom the consideration of punishment could do more, then the hope of reuenge) reuealed all to *Iacamo Alberti* his brother in law. Then *Iacamo* enformed the *Priori*, and the *Priori* enformed the Gouernours. And because the day of danger grew neare (which was the feast of All Saints) manie citizens consulted in the Pallace, and thinking it dangerous to deferre

ferre the time, iudged it best that the *Senators* should cause the bell to be rung, and thereby call the people to armes. *Taldo Valori* was *Gonfaloniere*, and *Francesco Salviati*, one of the *Senate*. They being to the *Bardi* kinsmen, would not haue the Bell rung, saying it were not well done, vpon euerie light occasion to arme the people. For authority being giuē to a loose multitude, could worke no good effect. It was also easie to moue tumults, but to appease them, hard. It were therefore much better, first to examin the troth of the cause, & punish the same by law, thē correct it disorderly with ruine of the citie; which words were not willingly heard. For the *Senators* with many iniurious and presumptuous speeches, were enforced to ring the Bell: vpon hearing wherof, all the people ran sodeinly into the market place, armed. On the other side, the *Bardi* & *Frescobaldi*, seeing themselues discouered, intending to winne their purpose with glory, or die without shame, tooke armes: hoping to defend that part of the citie where their own houses were: and on the other side of the riuer fortified the bridges, trusting to be succoured by the nobility of the country, & other their friends. Which purpose was disappointed by the people that inhabited where their houses were, who tooke armes in fauour of the *Senat*: so that finding themselues disappointed, they abādoned the bridges, & retired to the street where the *Bardi* dwelt, as a place of more strength then any other, & that very valiantly they defended. *Jacobo de Agobio* knowing all this conspiracy to be against him, fearful of death, & amazed, at the pallace of the *Senators* in the midst of the armed men, placed himself. But there was more courage in the *Rettori*, who had lesse offended: and most of all in the *Po-desta*, called *Maffeo de Maradi*. For he presented himself to those that fought, & as a mā fenceles, & without al feare, passing the bridge *Rubaconte*, entred in amōg the swords of the *Bardi*, making signes to speak with thē. Wherupon they cōsidering the reuerence of the man, his vertue, & other his good, & great qualities, staid their weapons, & quietly heard him. He then with modest & graue words blamed their cōspiracy, laying before them the perils wherto they were subiect, if they gaue not ouer this populer enterprize: giuing thē also hope, that they should be fauourably heard, and mercifully iudged. And promised moreouer, to be the mean wherby their reasonable offences should find compas̄ion. Then he returned back to the *Senators*, and perswaded thē not to be victorious with the bloud of their own citizens, neither to iudge before the cause were heard. And his perswasion preuailed so much, as by cōsent of the *Senate* the *Bardi* & *Frescobaldi* with their friends, were suffered to abandō the citie & return to their castles. They being gone, and the people disarmed, the *Senators* proceeded onely against the families of *Bardi* and *Frescobaldi*, who had taken armes. And to spoile them of some part of their power, they bought of the *Bardi*, the Castle of *Mangona*, and the Castle of *Varina*, and made a lawe, that no Cittizen might possessē a Castle within twentie miles of *Florence*. Within fewe monethes after, *Stiatta Frescobaldi* was beheaded, and many others of that familie proclaimed Rebelles. It sufficed not the *Gouernours* to haue oppressed the *Bardi*, and *Frescobaldi*, but they did (as men commonly doo) the more authoritie they haue, the worse they vse it, and the more insolent they become: so, where was before one Captaine of the Guard who oppressed the Cittizens within *Florence*, they also chose an other in the Countrey, to the ende, that men to them suspected, should neither within the Cittie nor without, haue anie dwelling. So earnestly were they bent against the Nobilitie, that they forced not to sell the Cittie to be reuenged: aspecting onely occasion, which came well, and they better vsed the same. By meanes of many troubles which hapned in *Lombardy* & *Toscana*, the possession of the citie of *Lucca* was come into the hāds of *Mastino della Scalla*, Lord of *Verona*, who (notwithstanding hee was bounde to deliuer the same to the *Florentines*) did not,

Taldo Valori.

Maffeo de
Maradi.The Bardi
and Fresco-
baldi con-
demned.

because he thought himselfe able to hold it, the rather, by being Lord of *Parma*, and therefore of his promise he made none account at all, which moued the *Florentines* to offence. For reuenge whereof, they ioyned against him with the *Venetians*, and made so hotte warres vpon him, as thereby he was inforced almost to abandon his country. Notwithstanding therof followed nothing, but some satisfaction of mind, to haue oppressed *Mastino*. For the *Venetians* (as all other doe that ioyne in leaguc with such as be weaker then themselues) after they had surprised *Triuigi* and *Vicenza*, without respect of the *Florentines* made peace with *Mastino*. Shortly after, the *Visconti* Princes of *Milan*, hauing taken *Parma* from *Mastino*, and hee fearing for that cause, that *Lucca* could not be kept, determined to sell it. Those that desired to buy that citie, were the *Florentines* and the *Pisani*. In beating the bargaine, the *Pisani* perceived that the *Florentines* richer then they, would obtaine it. Therefore they sought to winne it by force, and with the aide of *Visconti* besieged it. The *Florentines* notwithstanding proceeded, and bargained with *Mastino*, paying part of the money in hand, and for payment of the rest, deliuered hostages, *Naldo Ruccelai*, *Giouanni* the sonne of *Barnardino de Medici*, and *Rosso de Rici*: and then by order of *Mastino*, the possession of the Citie was deliuered. The *Pisani* notwithstanding pursued their enterprise, and by all meanes possible laboured to get the Citie by force: yet went the *Florentines* to rescue the Citie, and remouue the siege. But after a long warre, the *Florentines* were forced with losse of their money and honour to depart: and the *Pisani* became Lords of the Citie. The losse of this Towne (as in like cases it euer happeneth) made the people of *Florence* greatly offended with those that gouerned, whome in euerie Market place they defamed, accusing them of couetousnesse and vnadvised counsell. At the beginning of this warre, the authoritie thereof, was giuen to twentie Citizens, who elected *Malessta* of *Rimini* for their Generall. He gouerned the same with small courage, and lesse wisdom. They also praied aide of *Roberto* King of *Napoli*, who sent vnto them *Gualtieri* Duke of *Athene*: and (as fortune would, preparing all things for future mischiefe) arriued in *Florence*, at the same instant when the enterprise of *Lucca* was vtterly lost. Whereupon the twentie, seeing the people displeased, thought by chusing a new Captaine, to bring them into new hope. And to the end that the Duke of *Athene* might with more authoritie defende them, they created him first their Defender, and after gaue him the title of Captaine Generall, ouer their men at Armes. The great Citizens, who for the occasions before said, liued discontent, and many of them hauing also acquaintance with *Gualtieri*; at such time as they gouerned *Florence* in the name of *Carlo* Duke of *Calauria*, thought the time was come to alter the state, & oppresse the people, who had so long oppressed thē. For the bringing of that to passe, they thought good to reduce the gouernment vnder one Prince, who knowing their vertue, & the insolencie of the people, might reward the one and punish the other. They might also hope the more of the Princes fauour, if he by their meanes, aspired to that dignitie. To compass this intention, they manie times met in secret, & perswaded the Duke to take the gouernment, offering to aide him to the vttermost of their powers. With these Gentlemen, ioyned some populer families, as the *Perussi*, *Acciaiuoli*, *Antellesi*, and *Bionacorsi*, who being greatly indebted, and not able to paie of their owne, desired with the seruitude of their country, and the goods of others to deliuer themselues from the daunger of their creditors. Those perswasions moued the ambitious minde of the Duke, to great desire of gouernment, and the rather to make himselfe beloued, and accounted vpright, therewith also to winne the fauoure of the people; hee persecuted those that had gouerned the warres of *Lucca*, and put to death,

The Duke of
Athene.

Giouan

Giouan de Medici, *Naddo Rucellai*, and *Guglielmo Altouiti*: many also were banished, and manie in money condemned. These executions amazed much those of the meane sort, onelie the Gentlemen and basest people were therewith satisfied. These, because their nature is to reioyce at euill, and those for that thereby their iniuries receiued of the people, were reuenged. When so euer the Duke passed the streetes, his fauourers would publiquely speake to his honour, and with that the fraude of the Citizens might be by him examined and punished. The office of the twentie thus became disesteemed, the reputation of the Duke growne great, and all men for feare, or affection, seemed to honour him. And in token thereof, set the Dukes Armes vpon their houses. In so much, as this Duke wanted nothing that belonged to absolute authoritie, sauing the title of Prince. Then he perswaded himselfe, that whatsoever he attempted might be safely done, and therefore sent vnto the *Senators*, letting them vnderstand, that for the better gouernment of the citie, it behoued him to haue the full absolute authoritie & gouernment: and seeing that all the rest of the Citizens were therto consenting, he desired that therewith they would be also pleased. The *Senators* albeit that long before they had foreseene the ruine of their Countrey, yet were they all with this request greatly troubled. And though they knew also the perill, yet not to omit the dutie to their Countrey, they boldly denied the Duke. This Duke to make himselfe be thought the more religious, and well disposed, did choose for his dwelling, the Monasterie of Saint *Croce*: and being desirous to execute his euill intent, hee caused to be published by proclamation, that his pleasure was the people should resort vnto him, at the gate of the saide Monasterie. This proclamation amazed the *Senate* much more then the message, deliuered them by word. Wherefore they thought good to ioyne with those Citizens, whome they knew to be louers of their Countrey. Neither did they thinke (knowing the Dukes forces) that there was other remedie, to diuert the Duke from the enterprise, then to entreate him: and so make prooffe what effect faire words might worke, to perswade him to vse himselfe in the gouernment more mildly. Then went certaine of the *Senators* vnto the Duke, and one of them spake as followeth. My Lord, we are come hither, first moued by your Graces request, and next by your commandement to assemble the people. For it seemeth a thing certaine, that you intend to obtaine that extraordinarily; whereunto by ordinarie meanes wee haue not consented. Our meaning is, not by force to hinder your designs, but onely laie before you, how greuous a burthen you put vpon vs, and how perillous an action you take in hand. To the end you may hereafter remember our Councels, and waigh the same with theirs, who not for your profit, but for the execution of their owne furie, haue counselled you. You labour to bring this citie in bondage, which hath euer liued in libertie. For that authoritie which we haue graunted to the Princes of *Napoli*, was companie, and not subiection. Haue you considered of what importaunce and how ioyfull a thing the name of libertie is, in euerie Cittie like vnto this? The vertue whereof, no force can subdue, no time can consume, nor no merite can deserue. Consider (my Lord) how great forces it behoueth you to haue, to hold so great a Citie in seruitude. Those straungers, whome you haue entertained, bee not of force sufficient: and these that be within the walles, are not to be trusted. For such as be now your friends, & haue counselled you to this enterprise, so soone as they haue with your authoritie beaten down their enemies, wil seek also by what means they may to oppresse you, & make themselues Princes. The base multitude also in whom you trust, vpon euery accident, (be it neuer so litle) do change their opiniō. So that in short time, you may looke to find this citie your foe, which

shall be the ruine thereof, and yours also. Neither can you find remedie for such a mischief, sith those Princes onely can gouern securely, who haue few enemies: because those few, either by death or exile may easily be remoued. But against vniuersall hatred, no assurance can be found: because you know not where the mischiefe groweth. And who so feareth euery man, cannot assure himselfe of any man. Also, if you seeke to be assured of others, you environ your selfe with perils: because those that remain, do hate you the more, and are the more readie to reuenge. A thing most certain it is, that no time can weare out the desire of liberty. For we know, where the same hath bene in a citie reuiued by those, who neuer tasted thereof, saue onely by the memorie of this name libertie, which their ancestors by traditiō did leaue them. Therefore hauing recouered it, with all obstinacie and resolution they wil defend it, and if our ancestors had neuer left any signe of libertie, yet should we be put in mind therof, by these publike Pallaces, by these places made for Magistrates, & these badges of freedom & libertie: which things be publikely knowne, and with great desire euery citizen studieth to know them. What can you do, or what can by any meanes be done, to counteruaile the sweetnesse of life in libertie, or make the people forget the commodities therof? Yea though you could ioyne all *Toscana* to the dominiō of this state, or might euery day return to the citie, triumphing ouer your enemies, yet all should not suffice. Because that glory should not be yours, but ours. And our citizens should cōquer no subiects, but encrease companions in seruitude. Albeit your maners were godly, your behauiour curteous, and your iudgements iust: yet were they not of force inough to make you be loued. If you would beleue, they did suffice; you therin should deceiue your self. For to men accustomed to a life in libertie, the lightest clog seemeth heauie, & the losse of bands do pinch. A thing impossible it is for any state by violence gotten, to be by a good Prince mainteined: because of force he must become like vnto his gouernmēt, otherwise the one & the other wil perish. You must therefore thinke either to hold the citie with extreame violence, as castles, garrisons of men, & forrein friends (& yet many times they suffice not) or els be content, with that authoritie, which we haue giuen you. We therefore perswade you, and pray you to remember, that such obedience is durable, as is also voluntary. And labor not (being blinded with some ambition) to set your self where you neither can stand nor clime higher without your great preiudice & ours, & so be forced to fall.

These words moued not at all the hardened heart of the Duke, saying, his intention was not to take away, but restore the liberty of the citie. For cities disunited were not free, but those that were vnited. And if *Florence* by reason of factions, ambition, and enmitie, had lost the libertie, hee would restore it. Saying moreouer, that not his owne ambition, but the sute of many Cittizens, brought him to take this burthen: and therefore they should do well to be content with that, wherewith others were contented. As touching those perils which hee might by this occasion incurre, hee feared them not at all. For it was the office of no good man, to leaue the good, for feare of euill, and the propertie of a coward, for feare of good successe, to abandon a glorious enterprise. Also hee hoped so to beare himselfe, as they should haue cause in short space, to confesse that they trusted him too little, and feared him too much. The *Senate* then seeing no more good to be done, agreed that the next morning with their authoritie to giue the gouernment vnto the Duke for one yeare, with the same conditions, it was giuento *Carlo* Duke of *Calauria*. It was the eight day of September 1342. when the Duke accompanied by *Giouan della Tosa*, with all his followers, and many Cittizens, came into the Market place, and there in presence of the *Senators*; ascended vp to the *Ringiera* (for so they called that place of the staires belōging to the Pallace) where the conditions between
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the *Senate*, & the Duke were read. And when the Reader pronounced those words, which gave the Duke authority for one year: the people cried for his life. Then *Francesco Rustichelli* (one of the *Senate*) rose up to speak, and appease the tumult: but his words, were, with shouting of the people interrupted. So as by consent of the multitude he was created Prince, not for one year only, but for ever: & being carried by the multitude about the market place, his name was proclaimed. It is the custom, that whosoever is appointed to the Guard of the Pallace, shall in absence of the *Senators* be shut up therein. To which office at that time was *Rinieri di Giotto* appointed: hee being corrupted by the Dukes friends, without any violence offered, received the Duke into the Pallace. And the *Senators* therewith amazed, and dishonored, went home to their owne houses. Then was the Pallace by the Dukes servants sacked. The *Gonfaloni del Populo* thrust out, and the Dukes Armes set upon the Pallace, to the great and inestimable griefe and sorrow of all good men, and the great content of those, who either for ignorance, or wicked mind thereunto consented. The Duke having gotten the government, intending to take all authority from those that were wont to defende the libertie of the Cittie, did forbid the *Senators* to assemble any more in the Pallace, and appointed them a private house. Hee tooke also the Ensignes from the *Gonfalonieri* of companies. Hee removed the order of iustice against the Nobilitie, and delivered the prisoners that had bene committed. Hee called home the *Bardi*, and *Francescobaldi*, who had bene banished, and gave generall commandment that no man should weare weapon. Also for his better defence within the Citie, hee wanted himselfe forraine friends, and for that purpose pleased the *Aretini*, and all others vnder the *Florentine* government. Hee made peace with the *Pisani*, notwithstanding hee were created Prince purposely to make warre with them. Hee tooke the obligations from those merchants, that in the warre of *Lucca* had lent money to the state. Hee increased the old Imposts, and erected new: taking all authority from the *Senators*. The *Rettori* by him appointed, were *Raglione da Perugia*, and *Guglielmo da Scesi*: with whom hee ioyned, *Cerrettieri Bisdomini*; and those three men were his onely Councill. The taxes which hee imposed upon the Citizens were extreme, his iudgements vniust, & that grauitie & curtesie which hee had before fained, was conuerted into pride, and crueltie. For many citizens both wealthy and noble were condemned, and diuerse also by new inuented tortures, tormented. Moreouer to shew his authority in like sort abroad, as it was in the citie, hee authorized six *Rettori* for the country, who oppressed and spoiled the rurall people. Hee had the great men in suspition, although by them hee had bene pleased: and that some of them by his meanes had bene restored to their Countrey. For hee imagined that such Noble mindes as commonly are in Gentlemen, could not be contented with his government. Hee sought therefore to winne the good will of the people, hoping with their loue, and the aide of straungers, to defende his tyrannie. Then the moneth of May being come, at which time the people were accustomed to make sport and triumph, hee caused the companies of the Common people, and basest sort to haue Ensignes, and money, with honourable titles to bee giuen them. Whereupon the one part of them, went from place to place feasting and triumphing: and the other part with great pompe received the triumphers. When fame had dispersed abroad the new principallitie of the Duke, many of the French Nation came vnto him. And hee to euerie one of them (as men most to be trusted) gave countenance and entertainement. So that *Florence* within short space was not onely subiect to the French men, but also to their factions and apparrell. Because both men and women, without respect of shame, did followe them. But about all

Ordinaunées
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things that displeased, was the violence which he and his, without respect, vsed to the women. The Citizens liued then with great indignation, seeing the maiestie of their state ruined, their ordinances broken, their lawes disanulled, honest life corrupted, and all ciuill modestie extinguished. For the Citizens, not accustomed to see any regall pompe, could not without sorrow behold the Duke amidst his guardes of armed men, both on foote and horsebacke: for so with their owne shame, they were forced to honour him, whome they most hated. Whereunto might be ioyned, the feare and death of many Citizens, and the continuall exactions, wherewith he impouerished, and consumed the citie. All which indignations and feares, were well inough knowne to the Duke, yet would he not be thought to mistrust any thing, but shew himselfe as though he were beloued of all men. For it happened that *Matteo di Moroso*, either to gratifie him, or acquite himselfe of danger, reuealed a conspiracie practised by the house of *Medici*, and some others. The Duke enformed thereof, did not onely not examine the cause, but also caused *Matteo* most miserably to be put to death. By which doing, he tooke courage from all those that would tell him any thing for his good, and encouraged others that went about his ruine. He caused also with great crueltie, the tongue of *Bettone Cini* to be cut off, who after, thereof died. And this punishment was done, because *Bettone* had found fault with the exactions laid vpon the Cittizens. These cruelties encreased offence in the people with their hatred to the Duke, because that citie which was accustomed freely to do and speake all things, could not endure to haue their hands tied, and their mouthes closed. These offences and this hatred grew to that ripenesse, as mooued not onely the *Florentines*, (who could neither maintaine their freedome nor suffer seruitude) but euen the most seruile people of the world, to recouer libertie. And therupō many citizens of all estates resolved, with the losse of their liues to recouer their libertie lost. Then practised they three sorts of conspiracies, the one among the Nobilitie, the second among the people, the third among the artificers. These conspiracies, besides the general respect, were for particuler reasons willingly taken in hand. The great men desired to recouer authoritie. The people were sorrowfull for hauing lost the gouernment. And the Artificers found their trades and earning of money to be decayed. At that time *Agnolo Acciaiuoli*, was Archbishop of *Florence*, who in his Sermons and otherwise, had extolled the actions of the Duke, and done him great fauour among the people. But afterwards seeing him Prince, and knowing his tyrannous proceedings, knew how much he had deceiued his country: and therefore to make amendes of that faulte, determined, that the hande which had made the wound, should also cure it. Wherefore he became head of the first and greatest conspiracie: wherein were the *Bardi*, *Rossi*, *Frescobaldi*, *Scali*, *Altouiti*, *Malagotti*, *Strozzi*, and *Mancini*. The chiefe of the second conspiracie, were *Manno* and *Corso Donati*, and with them the *Pazzi*, *Cauicciulli*, *Cherchi*, and *Albici*. The principall of the third conspiracie, was *Antonio Adimari*, and with him the *Medici*, *Bordini*, *Ruccelai*, & *Aldobrandini*: whose intent was to haue slaine the Duke in the house of *Albezi*, whither (as they thought) he intended to go vpon Midsomer day, to behold the running of horses. But thither he went not, and therefore that enterprise became frustrate. Then they ment to assault him walking in the citie; but that seemed hard to do, because he was well accompanied, and alwaies armed, therewith also euerie day changed his walke, so as they knew not in what place certaine to wait for him. It was likewise the opinion of some, that the best were to kill him in the Councell: and yet that were hazardous; for though he were slaine, the conspirators should be at the discretion of his forces. During that the conspirators communed of these matters, *Antonio Adimari*, discouered the matter to some of his friends of *Siena*, whose aide hee hoped of,

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Conspiracy
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of, and tolde them the names of some conspirators, saying that the whole Citie was bent to recouer libertie. Then one of them imparted his knowledge to *Francesco Brunelleschi*, not with intent the practise should be laid open, but supposing that hee also had bene of the same conspiracie. *Francesco* either for feare of himselfe, or for the hatred he bare towards some other, reuealed all to the Duke: and presently *Pagolo del Mazecchia*, and *Simon da Mantezappoli* were apprehended; Who detecting the qualitie and quantitie of the conspirators, did thereby much amaze the Duke, and was therefore counsell'd rather to send for them, then arrest them: For if they fled, then he might without his owne dishonour, by their banishment assure himselfe. The Duke therefore caused *Antonio Adimari* to be called, who trusting to his companions, presently appeared. *Adimari* being staied, the Duke was aduised by *Francesco Brunelleschi*, and *Vgucione Buondelmonti*, to search the Citie, and kill so many as could be taken. But that the Duke thought not good, supposing his forces not sufficient to encounter so many enemies, and therefore proceeded an other way, which hauing taken effect, should both haue assured him of the enemies, and also gained him strength. The Duke was accustomed at occasions, to assemble the Citizens, and to take their counsell. Hauing therefore sent out to assemble the people, he made a bill of three hundreth Citizens names; and caused his Serieants vnder colour of counselling with them, to warne them to appeare: and being appeared, he intended either to kill them, or imprison them. The apprehension of *Antonio Adimari*, and the sending for other Citizens (which could not be secretly done) did greatly dismay euery man: but most of all, those that knew themselves guiltie. In-
somuch as men of greatest courage would not obey him. And because manie had read the bill, wherein one saw an others name, the one encouraged the other to take armes, and chose rather to die like men, then as Calues to be led to the butchery. By this means within an houre, all the three conspiracies became knowne one vnto the other: and determined the day following (which was the twentie sixt of Iuly, in the yeare 1343.) to raise a tumult in the olde Market place: there to arme themselves, and call the people to libertie. The next day, about high noone, according to appointment, euerie man tooke armes, and all the people hearing the name of libertie, armed themselves, and euerie man in his quarter prepared him vnder the Ensigne of the peoples armes, which the conspirators had secretly caused to be made. And the chiefe, as well of the Noble houses, as of the populer families, came forth and sware both their owne defence, and the Dukes death, (excepting some of the *Buondelmonti* and *Caualcanti*, with those foure families of the people, which procured him to be made Prince. They, together with the Butchers, & people of basest condition, came armed to the Market place in defence of the Duke. At this uproare, the Duke armed all his Court, and his seruants in fundrie places lodged, mounted on horsebacke to come to the Market place. But in many streetes they were beaten downe and flaine, and onely three hundred horses came vnto him. The Duke in the mean while stood doubtfull, whether he were better to come out and fight with his enemies, or defend himselfe within the Pallace. On the other side, the *Medici*, *Cauicculi*, *Ruccellai*, and other families most iniured, did feare that if the Duke would come out, manie that had taken armes against him, might happily become his friends. And therefore to remoue the occasion of his comming forth, and encreasing his forces, made head, and went vpto the market place. At whose arriual, those populer families, that stood there for the Duke, seeing the Cittizens couragiously to charge them, chaunged their mindes. After the Duke had thus altered his fortune, and euerie man reuol-
ted to the Citizens, sauing *Vgucione Buondelmonti*, who went into the Pallace: and *Giannozzo Caualcanti* with part of his men, retired vnto the new Market, and there
stood

stood vp, desiring the people to arme themselves to defend the Duke. Also the rather to terrifie the people, he threatned them, that if obstinately they followed the enterprise against the Prince, they should be all slaine. But finding no man to follow him, nor yet any that pursued him, and seeing himselfe to haue laboured in vain, tempting fortune no further, retired vnto his owne house. The conflict in the meane while (betwixt the people and the Dukes souldiers) was great, and though the Dukes forces defended the Pallace, yet were they in the end vanquished: some of them yeelded to their enemies, and some leauing their horses, folowed into the Pallace. While in the Market place the fight continued, *Corso* and *Amerigo Donati*, with part of the people brake the prisons, burnt the Records of the *Podesta*, & of the publique chamber: sacked the *Rettori* and their houses; and slew all the officers of the Duke, that they could laie hand vpon. The Duke on the other side, seeing the Market place lost, and all the citie against him, not hoping of any helpe, made prooffe, whether by any curtuous act the people might be appeased. Therefore he called vnto him the prisoners, & with gentle words deliuered thē, & made *Antonio Adimari* (though nothing to his owne contentment) a Knight. Hee caused also his owne armes to be rased out of the Pallace, & set the peoples armes in the same place. Which things being done too late and out of time, by enforcement, and without order, helped litle. Thus as a man discontented & besieged, he remained in the Pallace; and found by experience, that by coueting too much, he lost all: and therefore looked within fewe dayes, either to die by famine or sword. The Citizens intending some forme of gouernment, assembled themselves in *Santa Reparata*: and created there foureteene Citizens, halfe of them great, and the other halfe populer, who with the Bishop, should haue full authoritie to reforme the state of *Florence*. They chused also sixe to haue the authoritie of the *Podesta*, till hee were come. There were in *Florence* at that time, diuerse straungers come thither to aide the people: amongst whom, were some *Sanesi* sent from *Siena*, with sixe Embassadors, men in their country much honoured. They betwixt the people and the Duke practised reconciliation, but the people refused to common of any agreement, vntill *Guglielmo da Secesi*, and his sonne, with *Cirretieri Bisdomini* were deliuered into their hands. The Duke would not thereunto consent, till being threatned by those that were shut in with him, suffered himselfe to be inforced. Certainly the furie is greater, and the harmes more, when libertie is in recouering, then when the same is recouered. This *Guglielmo* and his sonne, being brought among thousands of enemies, (the yoong man not being eightene yeares of age) could neither by his youth nor innocencie be saued from the furie of the multitude. And those that could not strike him aliue, would needs wound him being dead. Ye a not being satisfied by cutting him in peeces with swords, with their nailes and teeth, they also tare his flesh. And to the end al their senses might haue part in the reuenge, hauing alreadie heard him lament, seene his wounds, and touched their torne flesh, would also that their taste should take part, so that all senses both without & within might be pleased. This terrible furie though it were greuous to *Guglielmo* and his sonne, yet was it profitable to *Cirretieri*. Because the multitude, being weary with the crueltie executed vpon those two, did clearly forget him, remaining still within the Pallace not called for. Then, the night following, by certaine of his friends, hee was conueyed away and saued. The multitude being appeased with blood of these two: A conclusion was made, wherin was set downe, that the Duke and his, should safely depart with bagge and baggage, and renounce all his authoritie ouer *Florence*. And afterwards, so soone as he should come to *Casentino* vpon the confines, ratifie the same. After this composition, the sixt day of August he departed from *Florence*, accompanied with many Citizens. And arriued in *Casentino*, he ratified (though unwillingly)

The Duke of
Athene bani-
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willingly) the resignation of his authoritie: for had he not bene by the Earle *Simone* threatened to be brought backe to *Florence*, he would not haue performed his promise. This Duke (as his proceedings do shew) was couetous and cruell, no willing hearer of complaints, and in his answeres, haughtie; hee looked for seruice of all men, and esteem'd the loue of no man: yet desired he to be beloued, more then feared. His person and presence did deserue to be hated, no lesse then his conditions; his bodie was small, his face blacke and hard faoured, his beard long and thin; so as both in appearance and being, hee merited the loue of no man. Thus within the tearme of ten moneths, his euill behauiour lost him that gouernment, which foolish Councill of others had giuen him. These accidents being happened within the citie, gaue encouragement to all the townes which had bene subiect to the *Florentines*, to returne also to their libertie: whereby *Arezzo*, *Castiglione*, *Pistoia*, *Volterra*, *Colle*, and *S. Gimignano*, rebelled. After the Duke was thus driuen away, the foure-teene Citizens, together with the Bishop, thought better to please their subiects with peace, then make them enemies by warre. And therefore seemed as much content with the libertie of them, as with their owne. Then sent they Embassadors to *Arezzo*, to renounce all their gouernment and interest in that citie, & make a league with the Citizens there. To this end, that sith they could not haue their aide as subiects, yet they might haue it as friends: with other townes they likewise practised to continue them in friendship. This counsell wisely taken, had happie successe: because *Arezzo* after a fewe yeares returned vnder the gouernment of *Florence*, & the other townes within a fewe moneths came to their auncient obedience. Whereof may be conceiued, that many times things fled or not desired, are with lesse perill and smaller charge obtained, then if the same had bene by extreame trauell & great force followed. All things thus settled abroad, they turned their studie to deale with matters within: and after some disputations betweene the great and populer Citizens, they agreed that the great men should haue a third part in the *Senate*, & in the ther offices the halfe. The citie (as hath bene before said) was diuided into six parts, so that one of the *Senators* was appointed to euery sixt part, vnlesse vpon some accident twelue or thirteene were created: but shortly after they were reduced againe to the number of sixe. It was therefore thought good to reforme the gouernment in this point, as well for the euill distribution of the parts, as because they intended to deliuer charge of the gates to the great Cittizens; it was necessarie to encrease the number of the *Senators*. Therefore the citie was againe diuided, into quarters: allotting to euerie quarter three *Senators*, leauing out the *Gonfaloniere Della Iustitia*, and the *Gonfalonieri* of companies. And in lieu of the twelue *Buoni Homini* they created eight Councillours, of either sort foure. This gouernment with this order settled, would haue continued quiet, if the great citizens had bene content to liue with that modestie, that to a ciuill life appertained: but they followed a course cleane contrarie. For when they were priuate, they would no companions; and being in authoritie ruled as Lordes. So as euerie day some prooffe of their insolencie and pride was seene, which thing greatly displeas'd the people, supposing that in place of one tyrant sent away, there was growne vp a thousand. The insolencie of the one part, and the offence of the other, grew to that greatnesse, that the heads of the people did expostulate vnto the Bishop the dishonestie of the great men, who were not by anie meanes content to liue like companions and neighbours. And therefore perswaded him to finde meanes that the great Cittizens might be contented with the meane offices: and that the Magistracie of the *Senate* should be onely left to them. The Bishoppe was naturally good, but easily perswaded to alter opinion: which was the cause, that by perswasion of his companions, he first faoured the Duke of *Athene*,

Discription of
the Duke and
his dispositi-
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Florence
againe refor-
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The people
of Florence
offended with
the nobilitie.

and

and shortly after by the counsell of other Citizens conspired against him. So now he seemed in reformation of the state, first to fauour the great men, and after to allow better of the people, moued by those reasons, which the populer Citizens had tolde him. He therefore supposing to find as small constancie in others, as in himselfe, perswaded betwixt them a composition. Then he assembled the foureteene, who yet continued in their authoritie, & perswaded them to yeeld the office of *Senate* to the people, alleadging that would be the quiet of the citie, and the deniall, the ruine thereof. These words did greatly chaunge the mindes of the great men, and *Ridolpho de Bardi*, with bitter words reprobued the Bishop, calling him a man not to be trusted: laying before him the friendship which he entered with the Duke vnaduisedly, and how he banished him afterwardes, traiterously. And in conclusion he said, that those honours which they with their perill had gotten, with their perill should be defended. Thus being diuided from the Bishop, he & his companie tooke leaue, and went vnto others of their consort, imparting the matter to all the Noble houses in the Cittie. The people likewise brake their mindes to such as were men of their condition. While the great men prepared themselues to the defence of their *Senators*, the people thought good to be also readie, and suddainly ranne vnto the Pallace armed: crying aloud, and requiring that the great Citizens should renounce the Magistracie. The rumour and tumult was great, and the *Senators* found themselues abandoned: because all the people beeing armed, the great Citizens durst not take armes, but euerie one remained in his owne house. By meane whereof, the new *Senators* appointed by the people, first appeased the tumult, and then gaue knowledge thereof: saying that their companions were modest and good men, and that they were faine, for auoyding a worse inconuenience to take this course, & so sent home the other *Senators* safe to their houses. The great Citizens thus remooued from the Pallace, the office was also taken away from the foure great Counsellours. In whose place, they appointed twelue of the people, with the eight *Senators* that remained. They created one *Gonfaloniere de Iustitia*, & sixteene *Gonfalonieri* of the people. They also reformed the Councils, so as, all the gouernment remained at the discretion of the people. At such time as these things happened, there was great dearth in the citie: by meanes whereof, both great Citizens and the basest sort of people became discontented. These, for hunger, and those for hauing lost their authoritie: which occasion made *Andrea Strozzi* to imagine, that it were possible for him to vsurpe the libertie of the citie. He perswaded with that imagination, solde his corne much better cheape then others: by meanes whereof, many people resorted vnto his house. And one morning hee mounted on horsebacke, being followed by some of them, tooke courage to call the people to armes: which done, within lesse then one houre foure thousand people were assembled; with whom he went to the *Senate*, desiring the Pallace might be opened for him. But the *Senators* with threatnings and force, sent him from thence, and after with proclamations so terrified him, that by litle and litle euerie man returned to his house. So as *Andrea* being left alone, could scantly flie and saue himselfe from the Magistrates. This attempt, although it were vnaduised, and had such successe, as commonly all others like thereunto haue, yet did the same giue hope vnto the Nobilitie, that they might easily oppresse the people, seeing the poorest sort misliked them. For not loosing this opportunitie, they determined to arme themselues with all sorts of aide, and recouer that reasonably, which vniustly and by force, had bene taken from them. The assured hope they had conceiued of successe in this enterprize, grew so great, that openly they provided armes, fortified their houses, and sent to their friends in *Lombardy*. The people on the other side, together with the *Senate*, made their prouision, and arming them, sent to the *Sanesi* and *Perugini*

The autoritie
of the nobilitie,
taken
from them.

Andrea
Strozzi.

The nobilitie
affaie to recouer
their honours.

Perugini for aide. The assistance of the one, and the other being come, all the Cittie was in Armes, and the Nobilitie made head on this side *Arno* in three places. At the houses of *Caicciulli* neare to *S. Giouanni*: at the houses of the *Pazzi* and *Donati*, in *S. Piero Maggiore*: and at the houses of the *Caualcanti* in the newe Market. The others beyonde *Arno*, fortified the bridges and streetes next to their houses. The *Nerli* at the bridge *Carai*; The *Frescobaldi* and *Mannelli*, at *S. Trinita*. The *Rossi* and *Bardi*, at the olde bridge; and the bridge *Rubaconte* defended themselves. The people on the other part, vnder the *Gonfaloniere della Iustitia*, & the Ensignes of companies assembled themselves. Being thus prepared, the people thought good no longer to delaye the fight. The first that gaue the charge were the *Medici* and the *Rondinegli*, who assaulted the *Caicciulli*, in that way which leadeth from the Court before *S. Giouanni* to their houses. There the conflict was great, by reason that from the Towers stones were cast downe to the harme of many, & below others with Crosse-bowes were sore hurt. This fight continued three houres, and still the people encreased. Then the *Caicciulli* seeing themselves by the multitude ouermatched, and wanting aide, yeelded to the people: who saued their houses and their goods, and tooke from them onely their weapons, commanding them to diuide themselves, and remaine in the houses of such Commoners as were their kinsfolks and friends. This first troupe vanquished the *Donati* & the *Pazzi*, who being of lesse force were easily subdued. Then remained only on this side *Arno*, the *Caualcanti*, who by men and the seat of the place were strong. Neuerthelesse seeing all the *Gonfalonieri* against them, and knowing the others to haue bene by three *Gonfalonieri* vanquished without any great resistance yeelded. Thus were three parts of the Cittie in the hands of the people, one part more remained to the Nobilitie: which was hard to be wonne, by reason of the strength of them which defended it, and the seat of the place, it being so fortified with the riuer of *Arno*, that the bridges must first of force be surprised, which were defended in that sort as is before said. The people then knowing that there they laboured in vaine, assaied to passe the bridge *Rubaconte*: where finding the like difficultie, they left for guard of those two bridges, foure *Gonfalonieri*; and with the rest assaulted the bridge *Carai*. Where albeit the *Nerli* manfully defended themselves, yet could they not withstand the furie of the people. Both because the bridge wanting towers of defence, was weak, & the *Capponi* with other populer families also assailed them. In so much as being on euery side distressed, they retired and gaue place to the people; who forthwith likewise vanquished the *Rossi*: by reason that all the people on the farre side of *Arno* ioyned with the victorious. Then the *Bardi* were onely left, whom neither the ouerthrow of others, nor the vniting of the people against them, (nor the small hope they had of rescue) could any whit amaze: for they did choose rather to die fighting, see their houses burnt, and their goods spoyled, then voluntarily submit themselves to the mercie of their enemies. They therefore defended themselves with so great resolution, that the people many times in vaine assaulted them, both vpon the old bridge, and vpon *Rubaconte*: and were with death of many, and the hurting of more, repulsed. There was in times past a lane, whereby men passed from the way that leadeth towardes *Rome*, by the house of the *Pitti*, to go vnto *S. Giorgio*. By this way the people sent six *Gonfalonieri*, with commandement to assault the backside of the house of *Bardi*. That assault made the *Bardi* to loose their hope, and occasioned the people to assure themselves of victorie: for so soone as those who defended the streetes knew their houses were assaulted, they abandoned the fight, and ranne to saue them. This was the cause that the chaine of the old bridge was lost, and that the *Bardi* on euerie side fled: who were by the *Quaratesi Panzanesi*, and *Mozzi* encountred. The people in the
meane

The People
armed against
the nobilitie.

The Nobilitie oppressed.

meane while (chiefly those of basest qualitie) being greedie of spoyle, sacked their houses, razed their Towers and burned them, with so great furie, that euen he that is most foe to the *Florentine* name, would haue bene ashamed to behold so great a crueltie. The Nobilitie thus oppressed, the people ordeined a gouernment. And because the Cittizens were diuided into three sorts, that is to say, great men, meane men, and base men. It was ordered that of the great men there should be two *Senators*, of the meane men three, and of the basest men three. Also the *Gonfalonieri* should sometime be of the one, and sometime of the other sort. Moreouer the ordinances of Iustice, against the Nobilitie were confirmed. And to make the Nobilitie weaker, they tooke some of that number, and mixed them with the populer multitude. This ruine of the Nobilitie was great, and so much weakened their faction, as after that time they durst neuer take armes against the people: but continually remained poore and abiect of minde; which was the occasion that *Florence* became spoyled, not onely of armes, but also of all generositie. After this ruine, the citie continued quiet, till the yeare 1353. In which time, happened that memorable plague (whereof *Giouan Boccacio* with great eloquence) hath written. Of which died in *Florence*, 96. thousand persons. The *Florentines* made then the first warre with the *Visconti*, occasioned by the ambition of the Archbishop, then Prince of *Milan*. That warre being ended, beganne suddenly new factions within the Citie. And albeit the Nobilitie was destroyed, yet fortune found meanes to raise vp new diuisions, and new troubles.

f. 110

The ende of the second Booke.

THE





THE THIRD BOOKE.



HE greuous and naturall enimities betwixt the people, and Nobilitie, through desire of the one to commaund, and the other, not to obey: are causes of all euils, which happen in euerie citie. For of the diuersitie of these humours, all other things which disturbe Common weales doo take their nutriment. This was that which held *Rome* disunited. And this (if we may compare small matters to great) was that which continued *Florence* diuided. Notwithstanding, in those two cities, the diuisions, did bring forth two sundrie effects. For the enimitie of the people and Nobilitie in *Rome*, was at the beginning ended by disputation: but the diuision of the people and Nobilitie of *Florence*, was with sword and slaughter determined. That of *Rome* by lawe; but that of *Florence* by exile, and death of many Citizens was ended. That of *Rome* did alwaies encrease the vertue militarié, but that of *Florence*, vtterly extinguished the same. That of *Rome*, from an equalitie of the Citizens, to a great disequalitie, reduced the citie: but that of *Florence*, frō disequalitie, to a maruellous equalitie was changed. Which diuersitie of effects, must of force be occasioned, by the diuerse ends, which these two people had. For the people of *Rome*, desired not more, then to participate the soueraigne honours with the Nobilitie, but they of *Florence* would be alone, and gouerne all without companie of the Nobilitie. And for as much as the desire of the *Romane* people was more reasonable, the offences done to the Nobilitie became the more tollerable. By meane whereof, that Nobilitie, without resistance gaue place: and after some disputation, a lawe was made to the peoples satisfaction, they being content that the Nobilitie should continue their dignities. On the other side, the desire of the *Florentine* people was iniurious and vniust; by reason whereof, the Nobilitie prepared themselves for defence, and without banishment and bloud of the Cittizens, their contentions were not ended. Also those lawes which were afterwards made, not for the common commoditie, but altogether in fauour of the people, were ordeined. Thereof proceeded likewise, that by victories of the people, the citie of *Rome* became more vertuous. Also the people hauing sometime authoritie in the warres, and commaundement in gouernment with the Nobilitie, were indowed with like vertue, and caused that citie by encrease of vertuë in men, to encrease also in power. But in *Florence*, the people hauing victorie, the Nobilitie were deprived of Magistracie, and being desirous to recouer it, it behoued them by their behauiour and manner of life, to endeuour themselves, not onely to seeme, but also to be men populer. Heereof, came the alteration of Ensignes, and the chaunge of titles, which the Nobilitie (to seeme common people) were constrained to make. So as that vertue in armes and ge-

nerositie of minde, which had bene in the Nobilitie, was extinguished; and could not be reuiued in the people, where it was not: which is the cause that *Florence* euer after became the more abiect. And as *Rome* knowing the vertue of it self grew to such pride, as without a Prince could not be maintained: so *Florence* was reduced to such termes, as euery wise law maker might haue brought the same to any order or forme of gouernment: as by reading of the former booke may partly be perceiued. Now hauing already shewed the beginning of *Florence*, & the original of the liberty therein, with the occasions of diuision: and how the factions of the nobilitie and of the people, with the tyrannie of the Duke of *Athene*, did end: & lastly how the Nobilitie were destroyed. It remaineth to discourse the enimitie betwixt the people and the multitude, with such accidents as of those diuisions proceeded. So soone as the authoritie of the Nobilitie was oppressed, and the warre with the Arch-Duke of *Milan* finished; it seemed that no occasion of displeasure or offence, remained in *Florence*. But the froward fortune of our Cittie, and the euill orders thereof, caused newe dissention to arise, betwixt the families of *Albizi* and *Ricci*: which diuided *Florence*, as by the *Buondelmonti* and the *Vberti*, and as by the *Donati* and *Circhi* it had before bene diuided. The Popes, who at that time remained in *Fraunce*, and the Emperours in *Germany*, to maintaine their reputation in *Italy*, sent thither at sundrie times, sundrie multitudes of souldiers, *English* men, *Germanes*, and *Brittaines*. They, (the warres ended) being without paie and entertainment, sometime vnder the Ensigne of one Prince, and sometimes vnder an other, spoyled the Countrey. In the yeare 1353. one of those companies came into *Toscana*, vnder the conduct of *Monsieur Reale*, whose comming amazed all the Citties of that Prouince. And the *Florentines* did not onelie in that respect publicquely leuie forces, but also diuerse priuate Citizens. Amongest whome, the *Albizi* and *Ricci*, for their owne defence, Armed themselves. These two houses hating one the other, studied howe they might one oppresse the other: yet were they not come to Armes, but onely contended in the gouernment, and in Councill. The Cittie then vpon this occasion armed, there happened by chaunce a quarrell in the olde Market: whither many people (as is at like occasions the custome) resorted. During the brunt of this brute, newes were brought to the *Ricci*, that the *Albizi* assailed them. And in like maner it was tolde to the *Albizi*, that the *Ricci* sought for them. Vpon these rumours, all the citie arose, and the Magistrates could with difficultie hold backe the one and the other of these families, from dooing of that violence, which without any fault or intent of theirs, was occasioned: This chance (though of no importance) somewhat kindled the minds of those gentlemen, & euery of them were the rather desirous to allure partakers. And forasmuch as by the ruin of the nobilitie, the Citizens were reduced to such an equalitie, that the magistrates had more reuerence then they were wont, either of them determined by ordinary meane, and without priuate violence to oppresse his aduersary. We haue already tolde, how after the victory of *Carlo* the first, the *Guelfi* were created Magistrates, and to them great authoritie giuen ouer the *Ghibilini*. Notwithstanding through tract of time and new diuisions, that law became so much neglected, that many descended of *Ghibilini*, aspired to the most principall offices. *Vgucione de Ricci* then chiefe of his family, found meane, that the law against the *Ghibilini* was reuiued: of which faction (as some thought) the *Albizi* were, who many yeares past did come from *Arezzo* to inhabit *Florence*. Vpon reuiuing of this law, *Vgucione* hoped to depriue the *Albizi* of authoritie, because thereby it was ordeined, that whosoever was descended of the *Ghibilini*, should not in any wise beare office in the state. This practise of *Vgucione*

The enimitie
betweene the
people and
the multitude.

The faction
or diuision of
Albizi and
Ricci.

A new lawe
against the
Ghibilini oc-
casioned by a
priuie respect.

was

was discovered to *Piero* sonne of *Philippo degli Albizi*, who determined to fauour it, least doing the contrarie, he should declare himselfe a *Ghibilime*. This lawe although renewed by ambition of the *Ricci*, yet did it not diminish, but encrease the reputation of the *Albizi*, and was the originall of many mischiefs: Neither can any lawe be made more preiudiciall to a Common weale, then that which hath relation to time, long since passed. *Piero* hauing thus consented to the law, that, which his enemies had deuised for a let, was the high way to lead him to his greatnesse. For being made as chiefe of this new ordinance, he still encreased in reputation, and became more fauoured of the *Guelfi*, then any other. And for as much as there was no Magistrate appointed for discouerie of the *Ghibilini*, the lawe already made, serued to small purpose. It was therefore prouided that authoritie should be giuen to the Captaines, to detect those that were of faction *Ghibilini*, and finding them, to giue admonishment that they should not take vppon them any office in the state: Or if they should disobey the said admonishment, then to be condemned. Hereof it commeth, that since that time, all those that be disabled to beare office in *Florence*, be called *Ammoniti*. Ammoniti. The captaines thē by this authority grew to be so insolent, as they did not only admonish those that deserued admonition, but also euery man, whomsoever it pleased them, being thereto moued by any cause whatsoever, either of couetousnesse or ambition. So that, from the yeare 1357. (at which time this ordinance was made) till the yeare 1366. more then two hundred Citizens were admonished. By this mean, the Captaines, & faction of *Guelfi* were become mightie, because euery man fearing to be admonished, honoured them. The chief of them were, *Piero delli Albizi*, *Lapo da Castiglioni*, and *Piero Strozzi*. And albeit this insolent order of proceeding displeased many, yet the *Ricci* were of all other most discontented. For they supposing themselues to be the occasion of this disorder, saw the common weale ruined, & the *Albizi* their enemies, contrary to expectation, become of most authoritie. Wherefore *Vgucione de Ricci*, being one of the *Senate*, desired to staie this mischiefe, wherof he & his friends were the beginners: and by a new law he prouided, that the six captaines should be encreased to the number of nine, of whom, two should be of the smal misteries. And ordeined moreouer, that the detection of the *Ghibilini*, should be by 24. Citizens of the factiō of *Guelfi* confirmed. This ordinance for the time, qualified the authoritie of the Captaines, so as the admonishment grew colde. And if anie happened to be admonished, they were not manie. Notwithstanding, the factions of *Albizi* and *Ricci*, continued: and the leagues, practises, and resolutions, deuised in hatred one of the other, did proceed. In this vnquietnesse, the citie liued from the yeare 1366. till 1371. In which time the *Guelfi* recouered their forces. There was in the family of *Buondelmonti*, one Gentleman called *Benchi*, who for his merit, in the warre against the *Pisani*, was made one of the people, and thereby become capable of the office of the *Senate*. And when he looked to be chosen to that honour, a lawe was made, that no Gentleman become one of the people, might exercise the office of the *Senate*. This greatly offended *Benchi*, wherefore consulting with *Piero delli Albizi*, determined with the admonition to oppresse the meaner sort of the people, and the rest alone to enioy the gouernment. Then through the fauour, which *Benchi* had with the olde Nobilitie, and through the affection of manie of moste mightie people borne to *Piero*, the faction of *Guelfi* recouered some force: and with new reformation, they handled the matter so, that they might both of the Captaines and the twentie foure Cittizens, dispose as themselues thought good. Wherevppon they returned to admonish more boldlie then they were wont and the house of *Albizi*, as head of this secte, still encreased. On the other side, the *Ricci* failed not by their owne force and friendes to hinder their

The Oration
of the citti-
zens touching
factions.

enterprises all they were able, so that all men liued in suspition, and euerie one mistrusted his owne ruine. For which cause, manie Cittizens moued with the loue of their Countrey, assembled themselues in Saint *Pietro Sceraggio*, and reasoning of these disorders, went to the *Senators*: vnto whome one of most authoritie spake thus. Wee haue (my Lordes) doubted (although for a publique occasion) to assemble our selues by priuate consent, fearing to be noted for presumptuous, or condemned as ambitious. Yet considering that euerie day (without respect) manie Cittizens conferre both in the streetes and in their houses, not for anie common commoditie, but their owne ambition: we do hope, that as they haue come togethers for the ruine of the Commonweale, so it shall not be offensive, that we consult by what meane the same might be preserued: Neither is there cause why we should regard them, seeing they of vs, make none estimation at all. The loue (my Lordes) which we beare to our Countrey, did first bring vs together, and the same also hath ledde vs hither to intreate of these inconueniences, which are now great, and daily encrease in this our Commonweale. In the redresse whereof, we offer our selues to assit you. And (albeit the enterprise do seeme hard) yet may it be performed, if it shall like your Lordships to laie by all priuate respects, and with publique forces imploy your authorities. The common corruption of other Citties of *Italy*, doth also corrupt ours. For sith this Prouince was drawne vnder the Empire, all Cities (wanting Governours able to rule them) haue governed themselues: not as free, but as townes into sects and faction, diuided. Out of this, be sprung vp al other discords that are to be found. First, among the Citizens, there is neither vnion, nor friendship, but onely among such, as haue against their countrey or priuate persons, conspired some lewde enterprise. Also, bicause religiō & feare of God is in euery man almost extinguished, othes and faith giuen, are none obligations equall to profit, which all men couet. Yet do they stil vse both promising & othes, not to obserue them, but the rather to deceiue those, that trust them. And the more easily & safely they can deceiue, the more they account their praise & glory. For this reason, hurtfull men be commended as industrious, & good men blamed as foolish. Yea, I assure my selfe, that all corruption, or that can corrupt others, is to be found in the cities of *Italy*. The young men are idie, old men wanton, euery sects, and euery age full of lewde conditions: which good lawes, being euil vsed, do not amend. Hereof the couetousnes which we see in Cittizens, and the desire, not of true glory, but of shamefull honors, do proceed: wherevpon depend hatred, enmitie, displeasures, & sects. Also of them do follow murders, banishments, persecution of the good, & aduancement of the euill. For good men trusting in their owne innocencie do not (as euil men) seeke extraordinary defence. Whereby vnupported and dishonoured, they are suffered to sinke. This example occasioneth loue of the factions, and their forces: because the worst sort for couetousnesse and ambition, and the best for necessitie, do follow them. It is also worthis consideration (as that which is more perillous) to see how the leaders of these enterprises do colour their lewdnesse with some honest or godly tearme. For (albeit they are all enemies to libertie) yet vnder the word *Ottimacy*, or popularitie, they cloake their euill intent. Because the rewarde which they aspect of victorie, is not glorie, by hauing deliuered the Cittie, but the satisfaction they take to be victorious, and vsurpe the gouernment thereof. Wherewith allured, there is nothing so iniust, nothing so cruell, or couetous, that they leaue vnattempted. Hereof it proceedeth, that lawes, and statutes, not for the common, but the priuate profit, be made. Hereof it proceedeth, that warre, peace, and leagues, not for publike glory, but for the pleasure of a few, are contracted. And albeit some other Cities

be touched with these disorders, yet none so fowly infected as ours. Because the lawes, the statutes, and ciuill ordinances, not according to a life in libertie, but according to desire of the faction victorious, haue bene, and yet are, ordeined; which is the cause that euer one faction driuen out, or one diuision extinguished, sodeinly ariseth an other. For that citie which is maintained more by faction, then law, so soone as anie faction hath gotten the ouer hand, & is without opposition: it must of force be, that the same becommeth in it selfe diuided. For by those priuate meanes which were made for preseruacion therof, it cannot be defended: which to be true, the ancient, and moderne diuisions of our citie do make triall. Euerie man thought that the *Ghibilini* extirped, the *Guelfi* should euer haue continued in honour. Notwithstanding within short time, the *Bianchi* and *Neri* arose. The *Bianchi* vanquished, our citie continued not long without partes, but was sometimes troubled with fauouring those that were banished, and somtimes with the enmitie betwixt the people, & nobilitie. Yea, at length (giuing that to others, which by accord either we would not or could not possesse our selues) sometimes to the King *Roberto*, sometimes to his brother, & last of all to the Duke of *Athene*, we yeelded our libertie. And in troth we neuer settled our selues in any estate, as men, that could not consent to liue free, nor be willing to obey: neither feared we liuing vnder a King (so greatly are our orders disposed to diuision) to preferre before his maiestie, a man of most base condition, born in *Agobio*. The Duke of *Athene* may not without shame of this citie be remembred: whose bitter and cruel mind might make vs wise, and instruct vs how to liue. But he being sent away, we suddenly tooke armes in hand; and with more malice and fury, fought among our selues, til all our auncient nobilitie were oppressed and left at the peoples discretion. Then was it thought by many, that neuer for any occasiō it were possible to stir vp new troubles or factions in *Florence*, they being cast down, whose pride & vnsupportable ambition was the cause thereof. Yet is it now seene by experience, how easily the opinion of men is deceiued. For the ambition and pride of the nobilitie was not quenched, but remoued into the people: who now (according to the custome of ambitious men) hope to aspire to the most soueraigne offices. And not wanting other meane to vsurpe the same, they moued new discords, & new diuisions in the citie, raising vp the name of *Guelfi* & *Ghibilini*, which, (had they neuer bene knowne) should haue made our country the more happie. Besides that, (to the end in this world should be nothing in continuance or quietnes) Fortune hath provided, that in euery state, there should be certaine fatall families, borne, and destined, to the destruction thereof. Of these, our Common weale hath bene more then anie other, replenished. For not one, but many of them haue disturbed the quiet therof. As, first of all the *Buondelmonti* and *Vberti*; then the *Donati* and *Circhi*. And euen now (a shamefull and ridiculous matter) the *Ricci* and *Albizi* do trouble and diuide our Citie. We haue not remembred you of those corrupt customes, and our continuall diuision, to dismay you, but call to your minds the occasions of them, and enforme you, that the example of those, should not make you to dispaire the reformation of these. Because the power of these auncient houses was so great, and the fauour that Princes did beare towards them so much, that the lawes and ciuill ordinances were not of force sufficient to hold them in quiet and due obedience. But now the Empire hauing no force, the Pope not feared, and that all *Italy*, & this Citie also, is reduced to so great equalitie, as may by it selfe be gouerned, the difficultie cannot be much. And this our common weale (notwithstanding the ancient examples to the cōtrary) may not only be brought to vniō, but also in good customs & ciuill orders be reformed, if your lordships be disposed to do it. Wherunto, we moued with the loue of our cōuntry, & no priuate passiō, do persuaide you. And albeit the corruptiō thereof be great,

yet allaie that disease which infecteth, that furie which consumeth, that poyson that killeth: and impute the auncient disorders not to the nature of men, but the time: which being changed, it may hope, that by meane of new orders, new fortune will follow, whose frowardnesse may be by wisedome gouerned, in putting a bridle vpon the ambitious, disanulling such ordinances, as were nourishers of factions, and vsing those that to a ciuill life and libertie, are agreeable. Be ye also pleased to do this by vertue of lawe, rather now, then deferre the same, till such time, as by armes you shall be enforced thereunto. The Senators moued with these reasons, which themselves had before considered, and thereunto adding the authoritie, and comfort of the men, gaue commision to fiftie sixe Citizens, to prouide for the safetie of the Common weale. True it is, that the counsell of many is more fit to conserue a good order, then to inuent it. These Citizens then studied rather to extirpate the present factions, then take away the occasion of future diuision. In so much, as neither the one or the other, was brought to passe: because not remouing the occasions of new diuision, & the one part of those factiōs which were present, being of greater force then the other, became the more perillous to the state. Wherefore, out of euerie office (excepting those that were in the handes of the *Guelfi*) for three yeares they de- priued three men of the families of *Albizi*, and three of the house of *Ricci*: amongst whom, were *Piero delli Albizi*, & *Vgucione dei Ricci*. They prohibited all Citizens to come into the Pallace, sauing at such times as the Magistrates sate there. They prouided, that who euer was striken, or letted to possesse his owne, might call his aduersarie to the Counsels, & protest him for one of the Nobilitie. These ordinances discouraged the *Ricci*, and encouraged the *Albizi*. For although they were equally noted, yet the *Ricci* were the more iniured. And albeit the Pallace of the *Senate* was forbidden to *Piero*, yet the counsell house of the *Guelfi* (where he had great authoritie) was open for him. Therefore if he and his followers were at the first earnest in admonishing, now after this iniurie, they became much more earnest: and to that euil disposition, new occasions were ioyned. At this time *Gregorio* I I. was aspired to the *Papacie*, who liuing at *Auignon*, did (as his predecessors) gouerne *Italy* by Legates. They being men inclined to pride and couetousnesse, had thereby greatly afflicted many Cities. One of these Legates being in *Bologna*, taking occasion of the death which happened that yeare in *Florence*, determined to make himselfe Lord of *Toscana*. And therefore he not onely withheld from the *Florentines*, present reliefe, (but also to remoue all hope of future prouision) at the beginning of the next spring, with a great Army, entered their Countrey: imagining the people (disarmed and famished) might be easily conquered. And happily the enterprise had taken effect, if the souldiers that serued him, had bene faithfull and not corruptible. For the *Florentines* not hauing other remedie, gaue vnto them 130. thousand *Florins*, and for that mony the souldiers abandoned the enterprise. To begin a warre, is in the power of euerie man, but to end a warre, no man can, when himselfe so liketh. This warre by the ambition of the Legate begun, was by the offence of the *Florentines* followed. For the better execution thereof, they made league with *Barnabo*, and with all the cities enemies to the church; and elected eight Citizens to gouern the said war: vnto whom authoritie was giuen, to proceed without appeale, and spend without account. This warre begun against the Pope (notwithstanding the death of *Vgucione*) encouraged those that followed the faction of *Ricci*, and had against the *Albizi* alwaies fauoured *Barnabo*, and disfaoured the church: and the more, for that the eight were all foes to the faction of *Guelfi*: which was the reason that *Piero delli Albizi*, *Lapo di Castiglionchio*, *Carlo Strozzi*, and the rest, diuerse times ioyned, to the offence of the aduersarie. And while the eight made warre, and they admonished, the warre continued

three

New reformation in Florence.

Pope Gregorio.

A new Commission for the gouernment of war.

three yeares, and by death of the Pope was ended. This warre was with so vniuersall satisfaction, and so great vertue governed, that the office of the eight, was from yeare to yeare continued in those men, and they were called *Santi*, notwithstanding they little regarded the Popes curses, spoiled churches, and forced the Clergie. Thus without respect, they preferred the seruice of their country before the Popes indignation. And thereby taught the church, that as being friend thereunto, they had defended it, so being enemy, they were able to annoy it, hauing procured all *Romagna*, *La Marca*, and *Perugia*, to rebell. But notwithstanding all these warres made by the *Florentines* against the Pope, yet could they not defende themselves from the Captaines of their owne factions and their followers. For, the enuie which the *Guelfi* bare vnto the eight, made them to become insolent, and though they spared the rest of the Nobilitie, yet rested they not to iniure the eight. Also the Captaines of factions, were growne vp to so great arrogancie, as they were more fauoured then the *Senators*, and men with more reuerence resorted to their houses, then to the Pallace. In so much as euerie Embassadour that came to *Florence*, brought with him some commision or instruction to entreate with these Captaines. Then died Pope *Gregorio*, whereby the citie being deliuered of forreine warre, presently begun great confusion at home. For on the one side, the insolencie of the *Guelfi* was insupportable, and on the other side, no meane could be deuised to oppresse them. Onely this hope was left, that euerie man should take armes, and so make triall whether partie should preuaile. On the part of the *Guelfi*, were all the old Nobilitie, with the greater number of the mightiest people: of whom (as hath bene declared) *Lapo*, *Piero*, and *Carlo* were the chiefe. On the other side, were all the people of least reputation, who had for Leaders, the eight Gouvernours of warre, *Georgio Scali*, *Tomazo Strozzi*, and with them the *Ricci*, *Alberti*, and *Medici*. The rest of the multitude (as in like cases it euer happeneth) ioyned to the partie discontented. It seemed then to the *Guelfi*, that the forces of their aduersaries were great, and therefore themselves in much danger, whensoever any vnfriendly *Senate* should happen to be chosen. Therefore thought good for the preuenting of that mischiefe, to assemble themselves in some place conuenient, where they might consult of the state of that Citie. For it seemed that the Citizens admonished, being in number growne great, the most part of the Citie were their foes. Whereto they could not deuise other remedie, but as they had taken from them the honours, so also to banish them the Citie, take the Pallace by force, and reduce all the state, to the order wherunto it was by the auncient *Guelfi* reduced: who liued not secure for any other reason, but onely because they had driuen out all their aduersaries. To this plot euerie man consented, but of the time of execution, they discented. The yeare 1378. being come, in the moneth of Aprill, *Lapo* thought good not to deferre the time saying, there was nothing that hindred time so much, as time: and then specially because in the next *Senate*, *Saluestro de Medici* was likely to be chosen *Gonfaloniere*, whom to their factiō they knew most contrary. *Piero delli Albizi* thought otherwise, for his opinion was it should be deferred, because the execution of their intent required forces, which without publishing of the matter could not be leuied, & if the matter were discovered, they should thereby incurre manifest daunger. His opinion therefore was, it should be delaied till the feast of *S. Iohn* (then at hand:) at which time, many people would resort to the towne, among whom they might conuey in vnknowne, as many friendes as they thought good. Moreouer, to finde meanes how to prevent the election of *Saluestro*, it was thought fit to admonish him: and if that deuise seemed not good, then to put into the election an other also of the same quarter. So as, it might fall out, that in steed of him, some other of his companions should be chosen. This cause was set
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The Conspira-
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Saluestro di
Medici.

downe as a resolution, (notwithstanding that *Lapo* vnwillingly thereunto, consented) iudging, delaie was dangerous, and that no time can be in euerie respect fit for execution. For whosoeter tarrieth all opportunities, either he shall neuer performe any thing, or if he doth, the same (for the most part) falleth out to his disadvantage. The Colledge was warned, and *Saluestro* not repulsed, but chosen *Gonfaloniere*: for the eight hauing discovered the practise, found meanes to prevent that which was looked for. Thus *Saluestro* sonne of *Alemanno di Medici*, who being of a verie noble populer house, could not endure that the people should be by a few great men oppressed. And hauing deuised how to end their insolencie, seeing the people fauoured that enterprize, he did communicate his intent to *Benedetto Alberti*, *Tomazo Strozzi*, and *Georgio Scali*: and they promised to bring him all the aide they possibly could. There was there a law secretly established, wherby the ordināces of iustice against the great men were renewed: & the authoritie of Captains was diminished. The same also, restored power to the admonished, to haue restitution of their dignities. And because (as it were at one instant) they intended both to propound and obtaine, hauing first to passe the Colledge, & after to determine in the Councils, finding *Saluestro* President (which place in those dayes, for the time being, made him be placed as Prince of the Citie) they caused the Colledge & Councell in one selfe morning to be assembled. And first to the Colledge onely, they propounded the lawe made, which as a new thing was by that small number reiected. Wherby *Saluestro*, seeing his wings clipped, wherewith he hoped to ascend to his desire, fained for his necessitie to depart the place; and contrarie to expectation, went to the Councell: and standing vp where he might be both seen and heard of euerie man, said. He thought himselfe made *Gonfaloniere*, not to determine of priuate causes, (which haue their ordinary Iudges) but to attend the state, correct the insolencie of the great men, and qualifie the rigor of those lawes, which were found by proofe to hinder the Common weale. And albeit he had with diligence trauelled in these matters, and to his power prevented all inconueniences, yet the sinister disposition of men, so greatly opposed it selfe to his iust indeuour, that the way of well doing was stopped, and their intent was altered, not onely from determining well, but also from hearing thereof. Wherefore, seeing that he could not do any thing more for the state, or the common commoditie, he knew not to what end he should continue longer in that office, which either he deserued not, or (as it was thought of others) he would not hereafter deserue. For these respects he intended to retire home, to the end the people might put in his roome, some other of more vertue, or greater fortune. This speech ended, he departed from the Councell towards his house, such as were in the Councell his friends, with some others also desirous of Innouation, began to murmur. Then the *Senators* and Colledges drew neare, and finding their *Gonfalone* departing, by entreatie, and authoritie staid him, and into the Councell, (being full of tumult) perswaded him to returne, where many noble Citizens were with words most iniurious, threatned. Among whom, *Carlo Strozzi*, was by an Artificer taken by the bozome, and had bene slaine, if the standers by had not saued him. But that which stirred the greatest tumult, and put the citie in armes, was the motion of *Benedetto Alberti*, who from the window of the Pallace, cried aloude to the people to take armes. Wherupon sodeinly all the Court was full of armed men. By that mean, the Colledges were forced by threatnings and feare, to do that which being desired they would not. In the meane time, the Captaines of the factions had assembled many Citizens, and consulted how to defend them against the order of the *Senators*. But so soone as they heard the rumour appeased, and vnderstood what was by the Councell resolved, euerie man fled to his owne house. For there is no man that mo-
ueth

ueth any alteration in a Citie, that knoweth how either to worke it at his owne wil,
 or suppress it, at his pleasure. It was the intent of *Saluestro* to create a law, & appease
 the Citie: but the matter fell out contrarie. For the humours moued, had chaunged
 euerie man so much, that the shoppes were shut vp, Citizens were assailed at their
 houses, many conueyed their goods to Monasteries, and hid them in Churches, as
 though euerie one looked for some miserie at hand. The companies of misteries as-
 sembled, and euerie misterie elected a *Sindaco*. Then the *Priori* called their Colled-
 ges, and the *Sindachi* consulted with them, how the Citie might be made quiet, but
 their opinions being diuerse, nothing was determined. The next day following, the
 misteries drew forth their Ensignes, which the *Senators* knowing, & doubting that
 which happened; called the Councels to put order: but ere they were all assem-
 bled, a tumult was begun, and presently the Ensignes were come out, followed by
 armed men to the Pallace. Thereupon the Councell to giue hope of contentation
 to the misteries and the people, and take from them the occasion of suspition, gaue
 generall authoritie to the *Senate*, the Colledges, the Eight, the Captaines of parts, and
 the *Sindachi*, to reforme the Cittie, for common commoditie thereof. While these
 matters were in hand, certaine of the Ensignes of misteries, with others of lesse qua-
 litie (thereby moued by some that desired reuenge of the last iniuries receiued of the
Guelfi) shrunke away from the rest, and went vnto the house of *Lapo di Castiglion-
 chio*, sacking and burning the same. He hearing that the *Senate* had done an enter-
 prise contrarie to order taken by the *Guelfi*, and seeing the people in armes, hauing
 no other remedie, but either hide himselfe or flie; first hid him in *Santa Croce*, & af-
 ter in the habit of a Frier fled into *Casentino*: where he was heard complaine of him-
 selfe, for consenting to *Piero delli Albizi*; and of *Piero*, for that he would needs deferre
 to assure the state, till the feast of *S. Giouanni*. But *Piero* and *Carlo Strozzi*, at the be-
 ginning of the vprore hid themselves, thinking that the brunt past, their friends and
 kinsfolkes were of force sufficient to continue them secure in *Florence*. The house
 of *Lapo* being sacked (because mischiefes are hardly begunne, and easily encreased)
 many other houses (some for hate vniuersall, and others by priuate displeasure) were
 also spoiled and burned. And the ministers of these mischiefes, to make their compa-
 nie the more forcible, for the spoyling of other mens goods, brake the Gayles, & let
 forth the prisoners. They also sacked the Monasterie of *Agnoli* and *S. Spirito*, where
 many Citizens had bestowed their goods. Neither had the publique chamber of
Florence escaped the hands of these disordered spoylers, if one of the *Senators* had
 not taken vpon him the defence thereof; who on horsebacke followed with some
 armed men, resisted the furie of the multitude. This populer madnesse, partly by
 mediation of the *Senate*, and partly for that the night drew on, was appeased. The
 next day, the *Balia* restored fauour to the Citizens admonished, with condition that
 within the next three yeares, they should not be capable to exercise any office. They
 also disanulled the lawes made by the *Guelfi*, in preiudice of the Citizens. They pro-
 claimed *Lapo di Castiglionichio*, and his companions Rebels, and with them diuerse
 others hated of the multitude. After these resolutions, they published new *Senators*,
 among whom *Luigi Guicciardini* was *Gonfaloniere*: whereby hope was conceiued;
 that all tumults wold cease, because they were holden quiet men and louers of peace.
 Notwithstanding the shops were kept shut, the Citizens still armed, and great wat-
 ches throughout the citie charged. For which cause the *Senators* receiued not their
 office without the Pallace with the pompe accustomed, but within, not vsing a-
 ny ceremonie at all. These *Senators* thought nothing so necessarie to be done at
 their entry into office, as to procure a peace in the citie, and therefore caused al armes
 to be laide downe, the shops to be opened, and the people of the countrey (called
 thither

New refor-
 mation in
 Florence.

The Oration
of Luigi Guic-
ciardini.

thither in the fauour of Citizens) to be dispatched away. They ordeined Guards in many places of the citie: so as if the Citizens admonished, could haue liued content, the people had bene quiet. But they not willing to abide three yeares from honour, did finde meane, that for their satisfaction, the misteries againe assembled, and demanded of the *Senate*, that for the good of the citie and quiet thereof, no Citizen might any more be admonished as a *Chibiline*, either by the *Senators*, the Colledge, Captaine, or Consull. Moreouer, they required new Imborsation to be made of the *Guelfi*, and the old to be burned. These demands were presently accepted, both by the *Senate*, and all other Councils: because thereupon it was supposed, all new tumults would cease. But mans nature doth not onely content it selfe with his owne, but will also couet other mens, and be reuenged. Those that hoped in the disorder, declared to the misteries that they should neuer be assured, vnlesse many of their enemies were driuen out, and oppressed. Which request being presented, the *Senators* called before them, the officers of misteries, & the *Sindachi*, to whom *Luigi Guicciardini Gonfaloniere* spake in manner following. If these Lordes, and I also, had not knowne the fortune of this cittie, the custome whereof is, that so soone as it hath made peace abroad, the warre within beginneth: we would haue more maruelled at the tumults passed, and therewith haue bene more greeued. But because things accustomed, do bring with them lesse sorrow, we haue endured these troubles with great patience, and the rather, for that they were begun, without any our default, and shall (we hope) end, as all others before haue done, sith we haue alreadie, in so many, and so great demands, satisfied you. Neuerthelesse perceiuing that you neuer rest contented, but still with new iniuries seeke to disturbe your Citizens, and condemne them to newe banishments: of your dishonest dealings, our greuous sorrow groweth. And truly, if we had thought, that within the tearme of our gouernment, this citie should haue bene so troubled, we would either by voluntary or violent exile, haue shunned these honors. But hoping to deale with men, in whom remained curtesie and loue to their country, we willingly receiued these offices, beleeuing our clemencie, should haue suppressed your ambition. But, we now see by experience, that the more mildly we beare our selues towards you, the more proud ye are, and the more dishonest requests ye demand at our hands. This plainnesse of speech we vse, not to offend you, but to remember you, for our meaning is, that others shall speake that which pleaseth you, and we that which is best for you. Tell vs (we pray you) what is that, you can honestly more require at our hands? You required that the authoritie should be taken from the captains of factions, & so it was. You desired the Imborsations should be burnt & new reformation made, to that we consented. You demanded the restitution of the admonished Citizens to their honors, and they were restored. We haue also at your entreatie pardoned those that burned houses, & robbed the churches. Yea for your satisfactiō, we haue sent into exile, many honourable and mightie Citizens. The great men also by your meanes are with new lawes bridled. What end will those your demands haue? Or how long will you abuse your libertie? See ye not that we with more patience did endure to be victored, then you to be victorious? Whither will these misdemeanours drawe this your citie? Do ye not remember that by like disunion, *Castruccio* a poore Citizen of *Lucca*, did oppresse it? And the Duke of *Athene*, a priuate Captaine of your owne, did conquerè it? So long as it liued in vnion, the power of an Archbishop of *Milan*, and a Pope, could not preuaile against it: but after, a warre continued diuerse yeares, abandoned the enterprise with shame. Why would ye then, that your own discord, should in peace bring this citie in bondage, which so many mightie enemies haue (notwithstanding their warre) left free? What profit shall you looke for by your diuision?

diuision, other then seruitude? Or what commoditie will rise of the goods you haue robbed, other then pouertie? For they are those, that by our industry haue fed the citie: wherof being spoiled, it can no longer be nourished. And they that shall vsurpethem, wil (as of things euil gottē) not know how to keep them. Wherof shal follow famine and pouertie. I, and these Lords commaund yee, and (if without indignitie we so may) earnestly praie you to staie your minds, and rest contented with those things which by vs are ordeined. And whensoever you desire anie new sute at our hands, seek the same ciuilly, and striue not with tumult & armes to obtaine it. For whatsoeuer you reasonably aske, will be graunted, and men euill disposed shal want occasion to oppresse our citie to your shame, and the ruine therof. These words (because they were true) greatly moued the citizens, and much they thanked the *Confaloniere*, for hauing performed the office of a good Lord & citizen, offering to obey, wherin so euer it should please him to command them. The *Senators* also, to giue the occasion, did authorize two citizens of euery principal office, together with the *Sindachi*, to practise a reformation, to the common quiet, and report their doings to the *Senate*. While these matters were in hand, an other tumult arose, which troubled the state more then the former. For the greater part, of the burning & spoyling in times past, were done by the basest sort of people, who notwithstanding that being altogether, they were audacious, yet they euer feared that the furie once past and appeased, they should receiue punishment for their defaults, or (as it often happened) be abandoned by those that encouraged them to the performance of the disorder. Whereunto was ioyned a hatred of the base people, towards the rich Citizens and heads of the mysteries, iudging themselues not so well paid for their labours, as they had deserued. Because at such time as the citie was first by *Carlo* diuided into mysteries, and euery mysterie a head thereunto appointed, it was enacted that the subiects of euery mysterie should be in all ciuill matters iudged by the head thereof. These mysteries (as we said before) were at the beginning twelue, afterwards encreased to 21. and they became of so great power, as in fewe yeares they had all the gouernment of the Cittie. Also to the end there should be difference betwixt those that were more, or lesse honourable, they were diuided, and seuen of them were called great mysteries, and foureteene named the lesse mysteries. By these diuisions, and some other occasions before recited, grew the insolencie of the Captaines of factions. Because those Citizens which aunciently were *Guelfi* (vnder whose gouernment that office continued) did euer fauour the people of the great mysteries: and persecuted the lesse mysteries with their protectors. Whereuppon followed all the tumults that we haue rehearsed. And for that in ordering the bodies of the mysteries, many occupations exercised by diuerse of the base people, and common multitude had no place of their owne in the bodie of the mysteries: they were referred & put vnder some other mysteries like vnto theirs. Whereof followed, that they either were not satisfied for their labours, or by their maisters oppressed, and so forced to complaine to the Magistrates, of those mysteries who gouerned them: at whose handes (as they thought) they receiued not that iustice that to them belonged. Also that mysterie which had in it the greatest number, was the mysterie of wooll, which being of most force and authoritie, did nourish and entertaine the greatest part of the multitude, and base people. The multitude then as well of the mysterie of wooll as others (for the cause before saide) was full of offence: therewith remembring the burning and spoiles by them committed, diuerse times assembled in the night, and reasoning of matters past, euery man tolde other the daunger wherein they stode. The one of them, a man of most audacitie and experience, to animate the rest, spake to this effect.

New tumult
in Florence.

A seditious
persuasion of
one of the
multitude.

effect. If we were now to consult whether it be best to take armes, robbe the Cittizens, and spoile the churches, my selfe would thinke it a matter considerable, & happily should preferre a quiet pouertie, before a perillous profit. But sith armes be alreadie taken, and many displeasures done, mee thinkes, it behoueth vs not to let goe the aduantage, but seeke meane how to assure our selues. I certainly thinke, that if no man would therein aduise vs, yet necessitie alone might counsell vs. You see all this citie full of displeasure and hatred against vs. The Cittizens do often assemble, and the *Senate* is alwaies accompanied with officers. You see they laie snares to entrap vs, and prepare new forces to oppresse vs. Therefore it standeth vs vpon to procure two things, and in our Councils to haue two endes. The one, that for your late doings we may not be punished, the other, that we may liue with more libertie and satisfaction, then heretofore we haue done. It behoueth therefore (as I thinke) that to obtaine pardon of all former faults, our best meane is to commit some new: doubling all our misdeeds, by burning, robbing, and spoiling, and therein to make many companions. For where many offend, none are punished, and small faults are chastised, but great and greuous offences be rewarded. Also, where many are iniured, fewe do seeke reuenge. Because vniuersal displeasures, are with more patience, then particuler wrongs endured. Therefore the multiplying of mischiefes is the readiest way to forgiuēesse, and the best meane to obtaine those things, which for our libertie are desired. Surely it seemeth, we go now to a certaine victorie: for as much as those, that should impeach vs, be disunited and rich. Their disunion shall giue vs victorie, and their riches (being made ours) shall maintaine it. Let not the antiquitie of their blood (wherof they so much boast) dismaie you: for all men hauing one beginning be equally auncient, and are by nature made all after one maner. Behold them naked, you shall finde them like to vs, and let vs be clad with their garments, and they with ours; we shall assuredly seeme noble, and they of base condition: because only pouertie and riches are those things, which make the disequalitie. It grieueth me to thinke, that many of you do in conscience repent things done, and intend to refraine doing the like. Surely it is true, that you are not those men, I thought you to be: for indeed, conscience, nor infamie ought to feare you, sith hee that winneth victorie, in what maner so euer it be, doth neuer receiue shame thereof. As for conscience, none account is thereof to be made. For who so standeth in feare of famine and prison, as you do, should not be daunted with dread of death and hell. And if we consider the maner of mens proceedings, we shall find, that all those who haue gained great riches or glorie, either by fraude or force are aspired. And those thinges, which they haue either by craft or violence obtained, (to cloake the infamie of their theft, and make it seeme honest) do call the same purchase. Yea, whoso euer for want of wit, or rather plaine folly, doth not follow this course, either sinketh in seruitude, or perisheth in pouertie. For in troth faithfull subiects are slaues, and good men be still plagued with want. Such as escape bondage, be the most faithlesse, and audacious; and they that shunne lacke, be onely couetous persons, or craftie. For God and nature haue laide fortune before all men; of whom we see more enclined to robbrie then industry: and more to the bad, then to good actions disposed. Hereof it cometh, that one man eateth an other, and he that can do least, must suffer most. You ought therefore to vse force when occasion is offered: which can be at no time more then now. The Cittizens are diuided, the *Senate* fearefull, and the Magistrates dismayed. So that before they can be vnited, and resolued, it is most easie for vs to oppresse them. By which oppression, we shall either become wholly Princes of the citie, or at the least, owners of so much, as we shall thereby, not onely haue pardon of passed errors, but also authoritie to threaten new. I cōfesse this resolution is bo'd
and

and dangerous, but where necessitie pincheth, desperation is iudged wisdom. And in great enterprises, valiant men account not of perill: because those attempts which begin with daunger, do end with glorie. Also from one daunger men do not escape, but by hazarding another. I likewise thinke that sith we see the prisons, torments, and death prepared for vs, we ought rather feare to stand still, then seeke to assure our selues: for by the one, the mischief is certaine, by the other doubtfull. How often haue I heard you complaine vpon the couetousnesse of your superiors, and the iniustice of your Magistrates? Now is the time not onely to be deliuered from them, but also to become so much their superiors, as they shall haue more occasion to feare you, then you them. The opportunitie which this occasion offereth, doth passe, and being past, cannot be called againe. You see the prepare of your aduersaries, let vs prevent their intention. For which so euer of vs do first take armes, shall no doubt be victorious, with ruine of the enemy, and aduancement of himselfe. Thus may many of vs gaine glorie, and euerie man enioy securitie. These persuasions greatly kindled their minds, already warmed with desire of mischief. In so much as they resolved to take armes, and the rather, hauing drawne vnto them more companions of their disposition: whome by oath they bound to helpe them when any should happen by the Magistrates to be oppressed. While these men prepared to surprise the state, their intent was discovered to the *Senators*, who had in hand one called *Simone*, of whom they vnderstood all the conspiracy, & that the next day they ment to make a tumult: which perill perceiued, the Colledges did assemble, & with the *Sindachi* practised to vnite the citie, but before euerie man was come, the night drew on. Then were the *Senators* aduised to send for the Consuls of mysteries, who being together, agreed that all men of warre within *Florence* should be warned to appeare: and the *Gonfaloniere*, the morning following with their companies to be armed in the Market place. At such time as *Simone* was tormented, and the Citizens assembling, one called *Nicholo da San Friano*, kept the clocke of the Pallace, who being aware of that businesse in hand, beganne to spread rumours among his neighbours, so as suddainly in the Market place of *Santo Spirito*, more then a thousand armed men were assembled. These newes came to the eares of the other conspirators, and *San Piero Maggiore*, and *San Lorenzo* (places by them appointed) were full of men armed. By that time day appeared, which was the twentieth one of Iuly. At which houre, came not to the Market place in fauoure of the *Senate*, aboue eightie men of armes, and of the *Gonfaloniere*, not one: for they hearing the Cittie was all in Armes, feared to leaue their houies. The first of the multitude that came to the Market place, were those that assembled at *San Piero Maggiore*: for whose coming the men of Armes remooued not. Then the rest of the multitude came, and finding no resistance, with a terrible crie demaunded of the *Senate* to enlarge the prisoners, and not seeing them deliuered vpon that threatning, sought by force to haue them, and set fire on the house of *Luigi Guicciardini*. Whereupon the *Senate*, for auoyding a worse inconuenience, deliuered the prisoners. Hauing obtained this demaund, they remooued the *Gonfalone della Giustitia* from the *Esecutore*, and vnder him burned the houses of many Citizens, persecuting those, that either for publique or priuate occasion was hated. Also manie Citizens to reuenge priuate iniuries, brought them to the houses of their enemies. For it sufficed that anie one man cried, let vs goe to such a place, or holding the *Gonfalone* by the hande, looked that way. They likewise burned all the writings belonging to the mysterie of wooll. Thus hauing committed manie euilles, to accompanie them with some lawdable deede: they made *Saluestro de Medici*, and diuerse other Knightes, to the number of three score

and foure. Among whom, were *Benedetto* and *Antonio degli Alberti*, *Tomazo Strozzi*, and such others their trustie friends, yet were some of them enforced thereto. In which accident, morethē any other thing, it is to be noted, that some of them whose houses they burned, were in the same day (so neare was the benefit to the iniurie) made knightes: which experience was seene in *Luigi Gonfaloniere della Giustitia*. The *Senators* amidst these tumults, finding themselves abandoned by the men of armes, grew doubtful of the heads of the mysteries, and their *Gonfalonieri*: for none of them according to order giuen, came to the rescue. And of sixteene *Gonfaloni*, onely the Ensigne of the golden Lyon, and that of the Cowe and Calfe, with *Giouanni Cambini*, appeared. And they also tarried not long in the Market place, because they were not followed by the rest. On the other side, the Citizens seeing the furie of the vnbrideled multitude, and the Pallace abandoned, some remained in their houses, others followed the troupes of armed men, hoping thē rather to saue their owne houses and defend their friends. By meane whereof the power of the people encreased, and the forces of the *Senate* diminished. This tumult continued all that day, and the night being come, at the Pallace of *Stephano* behinde the Church of *S. Barnabo*, it staid. The number of these men passed sixe thousand. And before the day appeared, the next morning they caused by threatning the mysteries to send for their Ensignes. Then came foorth the *Gonfalone della Giustitia*, and accompanied with the Ensignes of the mysteries, went to the Pallace of the *Podesta*: who denying to yeelde the possession of that house, they fought with him, and at length wanne that place. The *Senate* desirous to make composition with them, sith by force they could not appease them, called three of their Colledges, and sent them to the Pallace of the *Podesta*, to vnderstand the intent of the people: who founde, that the heades of the multitude with the *Sindachi* of the mysteries, and some other Citizens, had determined what should be required of the *Senate*. So as, they accompanied with foure of the people specially appointed, returned with these demaundes. First that the mysterie of wooll, might not from that time foorth haue anie straunger for their Iudge. That three new corporations of mysteries should be erected: one to containe the Carders and Diars; the second to containe the Barbars, Hosiers, and some other mechanicall Artes; and the third, for the poore people. Also, that of these three newe mysteries, there should be two of the *Senate*: and of the foureteene lesse mysteries, three. That the *Senate* should prouide houses for the meetings and assemblies of these newe corporations. That no man within these bodies corporate, should within two yeares, be constrained to paie anie debt of lesse summe then two duckets. That the banckes should take no preiudice, but the principall onely to be restored. That all men banished or condemned, should be called home. That all the Citizens admonished, should be admitted to their honours. Many other things in the fauour of their priuate friends they demanded: and likewise the contrarie, that many their enemies might be confined and admonished. All which demaundes notwithstanding they were dishonest and vnfit for the state: yet for feare of worse, were by the *Senators*, Colledges, & people graunted. Also to the end they might receiue full perfection, it behoued to haue them allowed by the common Councell. And (because in one day two Councels could not be assembled) that cōsultation of force was deferred til the next day. In the meane time, it was thought good, that the mysteries & people shuld rest content & satisfied, they promising, that so soon as the law were in perfectiō, all tumults shuld cease. The next morning while the cōmō coucel debated the matter, the multitude impatiēt & voluble, vnder their ensigas wēt to the market place, shouting & crying so terribly, that all the Councell & the *Senat* were dismaid. Wherupon

Gueriante

Gueriante Marignuolo, one of the *Senators* (moued rather with feare then any other priuate pafsion) vnder colour to keepe the gate, went downe and fled to his house: yet could he not fo secretly paffe, but was by the multitude knowne. Otherwise they did him no iniurie, then crie out faying, that the *Senate* would all abandon the Pallace, vnleffe their children were flaine, and their houfes burnt. In the meane fpace, the lawe was made, and the *Senators* returned to their chambers. Also the Councell came downe and ftaied in the Galleries and Courts without going further, as men difpairing of the citie, either becaufe they perceiued fo great difhonour and frowardneffe in the multitude, or fo great cowardice in others, who had power to opprefse, or at the leaft, to allaie the rage of thefe tumults. The *Senators* were also amazed, and difpairing of their countrey, beheld one of their company fled, and no other Cittizen that would either afift them with force or counfell. Therefore they refolued of that they could, being incertaine what elfe they fhould do. *Tomazo Strozzi*, and *Benedetto Alberti*, either moued with priuate ambition, defiring to be onely Lords of the Pallace, or elfe becaufe they fo thought beft, perfwaded the others to giue place to this populer furie, and as priuate men returne home to their houfes. This counfell giuen by thofe that were heads of the tumult (notwithftanding that the reft gaue place) made *Alamanno Acciaiuoli*, and *Nicholo del-Bene*, (two of the *Senate*) to become offended. Yet after being come to themfelues, they faid; that if other men would depart, they could not let them: but for themfelues, they would not go, till their time appointed, vnleffe that with their authoritie they did alfo loofe their liues. Thefe contrarieties of opinion, doubled the difpaire of the *Senate*, and the peoples offence. In fo much as, the *Gonfaloniere*, defiring rather to end his office with fhame, then perill, resigned the fame to *Tomazo Strozzi*, who led him from the Pallace, and conducted him to his houfe. The other *Senators* in like maner, one after another, went home. Then *Alamanno* & *Nicholo*, to fhew no more courage thē wifdome, feeing themfelues left alone, departed alfo: whereby the Pallace remained in the hand of the multitude and the eight gouernours for the warre, who had not giuen vp their offices. At fuch time as the people entred the Pallace, one *Michele di Lando*, a Carder of wooll, bare the Enfigne of the *Gonfaloniere Giuftitia*, hee being bare legged and raggedly apparrelled, followed with the multitude, went vp the ftaires, and being come to the prefence of the *Senators*, ftaied, and turned himfelfe to the multitude, faying; Doo you not fee that this Pallace and this citie is yours, and in your hands? what doo you now thinke good to doo? Where to euerie man answered, that hee fhould be *Gonfaloniere*, and Lorde to difpofe, and gouerne the citie as himfelfe thought good. *Michele* accepted his authoritie, for hee was indeede a man verie wittie, and more bounde to Nature, then Fortune. Then hee determined to appeafe the citie, and ftaiethe tumults: alfo to hold the people occupied, and winne himfelfe time to giue order, commaunded one *Ser Nuto*, to be fearched out, who had bene by *Lapo Caftiglionichio*, appointed a Serieant. To the execution of which feruice, the greater number of thofe that were prefent did goe. Then to begin that gouernment with iuftice, which by fauoure of the multitude was giuen him, hee commanded by proclamation, that no man fhould feale or take iniuftly from another. And the rather to terrifie all men, hee erected a Gibbet in the Market place; hee displaced the *Sindachi* of myfteries, and made new; hee deprived the *Senate* and Colledges, & burned the *Borfi*. In the mean time *Ser Nuto* was by the multitude brought into the market place and there hanged by one foote. Euerie mā with his fword cut him in pieces, til at lēgth there remained not any thing but his foote. On the other fide, the eight gouernours for the war (fuppofing themfelues by the departure of the *Senators*, to be onely Lords of the citie, appointed new

The Gouernment gained by the multitude.
Michele Lando.

Ordinaunces of Michele Lando.

Senators: which *Michele* knowing, sent one to tell them, they should presently depart the Pallace, because hee would let all men vnderstand, that hee alone without their counsell could gouerne *Florence*. That done, he caused the *Sindachi* of mysteries to assemble, and created foure *Senators* of the base multitude, two of the great mysteries, and two of the lesse. Moreouer he made new *Squittini*; diuiding the state into three parts, commaunding that the one should belong to the new mysteries, the second to the lesser, and the third to the great mysteries. Hee gaue vnto *Saluestro de Medici*, the rentes of the houses vpon the olde bridge. To himselfe the *Podesteria* of *Empoli*: and on many other his friends of the multitude, he bestowed benefits: many others at his hand receiued pleasure and were restored to their owne, not so much for their good as that he might the rather be by them, from the enuie of time defended. Then it seemed to the poore multitude, that in this reformation of the state, the better sorte of people were too much partakers thereof: and they not to haue therein so much authoritie as to defend themselues, if neede should require. Wherefore set on with their accustomed boldnesse, they tooke armes againe, and vniting themselues vnder their Ensignes came anew into the Market, demaunding of the *Senators* to come downe to the *Ringhiera*, and consult of new matters concerning their securitie and good. *Michele* seeing their arrogancie, (yet not to moue them to more offence, without asking what they would) blamed the maner of their demaunding, and perswaded them to laie downe armes, saying, that should be graunted vnto them, which with the grauitie of the *Senate* through force, might not be graunted. The multitude with that offended, assembled neare the Pallace of *S. Maria Nouella*, where among themselues they appointed eight heades with their officers and orders, which gaue them reuerence and reputation. So as, the citie had two places of state, and was by two diuerse officers gouerned. These heads determined among them, that euer eight, named by the bodie of the Mysteries, should dwell in the Pallace with the *Senate*, and whatsoever the *Senators* should determine, must be by them confirmed. They tooke from *Saluestro de Medici* and *Michele*, all that, which in their former Councils was giuen them. They appointed many new officers, & allowances for their degrees. These appointments taken, to make them the more assured, they sent two of them to the *Senate*, to require their consent, intending, that if that were not graunted, that then by force they would haue it. Those messengers, with great audacitie and more presumption, declared their Commission to the *Senate*: and told the *Gonfalone* what honour and authoritie they had giuen him, and with what ingratitude and small respect at his hand, they were reacquited. At length falling from words to threatnings; *Michele* could no longer endure such arrogancy. But remembring more the place hee occupied, then the basenesse of his late estate, thought meete by extraordinary meane, to bridle an extraordinary insolency; and drawing forth the sword he ware, hurt one of these messengers: and after caused him to be bound and imprisoned. This being knowne, greatly offended the multitude, and hoping to winne that by force, which vnarmed they could not, presently tooke armes with great furie, and marched towards the *Senators*, with intent to compell them. *Michele* on the other side, doubting that which followed, determined to prevent them, and imagining it more for his glorie to assault others, then tarry within and be assaulted, and so like to his predecessors be forced with shame of the Pallace to flie away: did assemble a great number of Citizens, who (hauing well aduised themselues of their errours) mounted on horsebacke, and being followed by many armed men, went to *Santa Maria Nouella*, to fight with the enemy. The people hauing (as wee before declared) made the like determination, almoste
at

The multi-
tude offended
with Michele
Lando his
lawes.

at the same time marched to the Market place : but it happened that the one passed by one streete, and the other by an other, so as by the way they met not. *Michele* being returned backe, founde the Market place taken, and the Pallace assaulted : hee therefore suddainly charged the enemies and ouerthrew them. Some were forced to flie, others cast downe their weapons, and some hid themselues. This victorie gotten, the tumult was appeased, onely through the vertue of the *Gonfaloniere*, who for courage, wisdom, & integritie, excelled all the Citizens of that time, and is to be numbred among those few that haue profitted their country. For had he bene of euil disposition or ambitious, the common weale had viterly lost the libertie therof, & should haue fallen into a greater tyrannie then that of the Duke of *Athene* : but the bountie of *Lando* was such, as suffred no thoght to enter his mind that might be preiudiciall to the vniuersall quiet. His wisdom directed all things, so as many of his fellowship gaue him place, & his aduersaries by force of armes were oppressed. Which maner of proceeding, caused the multitude to stand dismaied, and the better sort of Artificers to looke about them, & thinke how great their shame was, hauing oppressed the great mens pride, to endure the populer dregs. At such time as *Michele* obtined this victorie against the multitude, a new *Senate* was chosen, wherein were two men of so vile and vnworthie condition, as euery man desired to be acquit of that great infamie. When these officers were created (which was the first day of September) the Market place was full of armed men. So soone as the olde Senators came out of the Pallace, there was a brute giuen out among the armed men, that they would not, that any of the base people should be of the number of *Senators*. Whereupon the *Senate* for their satisfaction depriued two, the one called *Tira*, the other *Baroccio*, in whose roomes, they placed *Georgio Scali*, and *Francesco di Michele*. They also deposed the mysteries of the base people, and all officers, excepting *Michele Lando*, *Lorenzo di Puccio*, and a fewe others of the better sort. They diuided the honours into two parts, allotting the one, to the greater mysteries, the other to the lesse. Of the *Senate*, they willed there should be euer fiue of the lesse mysteries, and foure of the great. And the *Gonfaloniere* to be chosen sometimes of the one, and sometimes of the other. The state thus ordeined for the present, appeased the citie. And albeit the gouernment was taken away from the base people, yet the Artificers of meanest condition, remained more mightie then the populer Nobilitie, who were forced to giue place, to winne from the base people the fauoure of the mysteries, and content them : which was also fauouired, by such as desired that those should be oppressed, who vnder the name of *Guelfi*, had with great insolencie iniured many Cittizens. Among others that allowed this manner of gouernment, *Georgio Scali*, *Benedetto Alberti*, *Saluestro di Medici*, and *Tomazo Strozzi* were made as Princes of the citie. These matters thus proceeding and handled, the diuision alreadie begunne betwixt the populer Nobilitie, and the meane Artificers, through ambition of *Ricci* and *Albizi*, became confirmed. Whereof (because afterwarde followed greuous effects, and of them we shall be often occasioned to speake) we will call the one populer, the other plebeiall. The state continued thus three yeares, full of banishments and murthers. For they that gouerned, knowing there were both within and abroad, manie euill contented, did liue in great suspition. The Cittizens within discontented, either they continually attempted some newe practise, or deuised with themselues how they might do it. And those that liued without, hauing no bridle, by meane of some Prince or some Common weale, here and there, sowed sedition. At this time *Giannozzo di Salerno*, Lieutenant to *Durazzo*, descended of the Kings of *Napoli*, hapned to be at *Bologna*, intending to assault the kingdom, & take the same frō

Michele Lando victorious.

New diuision
in Florence.

Diuers great
Cittizens ac-
cused.

The Queene
of Napoli ta-
ken prisoner.

Queene *Giouanna*. At the same time also were in *Bologna* many banished *Florentines*, who with the Pope and with *Carlo*, practised diuerse things: which was the cause, that they who gouerned in *Florence* did liue in great suspition, and gaue credit easily to the flanders of those Cittizens that were suspected. During this doubtfull time, it was reuealed to the Magistrates, that *Giannozzo* of *Salerno*, should with the banished men present himselfe before *Florence*, and that many within would take armes and deliuer the citie to his hand. Vpon this report many were accused, the chiefe of whom, were *Piero delli Albizi*, and *Carlo Strozzi*: and next to them the *Cipriani Giacomo Sacchetti*, *Donati Barbadori*, *Filippo Strozzi*, and *Giouanni Arselini*: who were all taken, sauing *Carlo Strozzi*, that fled. And the *Senate*, to the end none should take armes in their fauour, appointed *Tomazo Strozzi*, and *Benedetto Alberti*, with many armed men to guard the citie. These Cittizens were apprehended and examined, but the accusation and their answer conferred togethèr, no fault was in them found: Infomuch that the Captaine not willing to condemne them, their enemies in the meane space moued the people to mutinie, and by force they were iudged to death. Neither was *Piero degli Albizi* any whit fauoured, either for the greatnesse of his house, or for that long time he had in the citie more reputation then any other, and had bene there more honoured and feared. During his prosperitie, some friend of his, either to perswade him to curtesie in his greatnesse, or else some enemy to threaten him with the inconstancie of fortune: at such time as hee made a solemne banquet to diuerse Cittizens, sent him a siluer dish full of Comfits, and in those Comfits was hidden a naile; which being founde and seene of diuerse his guesstes, it was imagined, that thereby he should remember to staie the wheele: because fortune hauing set him on the height thereof (the wheele keeping course) must needes cast him downe. Which interpretation, was first by his decaie, and after by his death verified. After this execution, the citie remained full of confusion, because both the victored, and the victorious stood in feare: but the worst of all was, that the gouernours themselues liued in continuall suspition. For euerie accident were it neuer so litle, made them to do new iniuries to the factions, condemning, admonishing, and sending the Cittizens into exile. Whereunto they ioyned new lawes, and new orders, many times made, onely to fortifie their authoritie. All which was done to the iniurie of them who were to their faction suspected. And they created fortie fixe men, who with the *Senate* should discover men suspected to the state. These officers admonished thirtie nine Cittizens, making many populer persons great men, & many great men, populer. Also, the rather to withstand all external forces, they entertained *Iohn Aguto*, an English Captain, who, in those daies, was accounted of great experience in the war, & had long serued the Pope & others in *Italy*. The suspition abroad proceeded of intelligence giuen, how certain companies of men at armes belonging to *Carlo Durazzo*, were put in readinesse, to assault the kingdome. Among whom, (as was reported) were many banished *Florentines*. For the meeting with those perils, besides the ordinarie forces, a summe of mony was prouided. *Carlo* arriued in *Arezzo*, receiued of the *Florentines* fortie thousand Duckets, promising not to molest them. After that time, he atchiued his enterprise, and happily surprized the kingdome of *Napoli*, tooke the Queene *Giouanna*, & sent her prisoner into *Hungary*. Which victorie encreased a new suspition of those that in *Florence* feared the state. Because they could not beleue that their money should do more with the King, then the auncient friendship, which that house had with the *Guelfi*, who with manifold iniury, had bene by him oppressed. These suspitions encreasing, encreased also the iniuries, which did not decrease, but multiply them. By meanes whereof, the greater number of them liued much discontented, which discontent grew the greater by the

the insolency of *Georgio Scali*, and *Tomazo Strozzi*; whose authoritie prevailed more then the Magistrates: and euerie man feared, least they beeing followed with the people, would oppresse them. In so much as, that, not onely the good men, but also the seditious sort, accounted that gouernment tyrannicall & violent. But to the end, that the insolencie of *Georgio* should at length take end) it fortun'd that hee became accused of one *Giouanni Cambio*, his companion: hauing (as he said) practised diuerse waies against the state: yet vpon examination, was found guiltlesse by the Captaine. So as thē, the Iudge went about to punish the accuser with that punishment, which the partie accused should haue suffered, had he bene found faultie. And *Georgio*, neither with sute nor authoritie, able to saue him, went with *Tomazo Strozzi*, and the multitude armed to deliuer him by force. At which time, they sacked the Captaines Pallace, and forced him (for safetie of his person) to hide himselfe, which action filled the citie with so much hatred towards him, that thereby his enemies hoped to ouerthrow him, and take the citie both from him, & the plebeyall people also: who through presumption, had vsurped the same three yeares. Thereof also the Captaine gaue great occasion; for he (the tumult ceased) went to the *Senate*, & said, that as he had willingly taken vpon him, that, whereto their Lordships had elected him, because therein he hoped to serue iust men, readie to take armes, in the fauoure, not in the preiudice of iustice: so seeing he had seene and knew the gouernment of the citie, and the maner of life therein; that office which he willingly tooke in hand for his profit and honour, as willingly there he would yeeld the same vp to shunne the perill, and losse that might thereof follow. The Captaine was by the *Senators* comforted, and promised reparation of former losses and future securitie. Then certaine of them, together with some Citizens, who were holden louers of the Common weale, and men least suspected; concluded that a good opportunitie was offered to take the citie from *Georgio*, and the multitude. By reason, that through that his late insolencie, the Citizens were greatly alienated from him: and was therefore good to execute that intent, before the offended mindes of the multitude were reconciled. For well they knew, that the fauoure of the multitude vpon euery trifling accident is gotten and lost. Iudging moreouer, that for the bringing this enterprise to effect, it behoued them to winne the good will of *Benedetto Alberti*, without whose consent the action seemed dangerous. This *Benedetto* was a man exceeding rich, curteous, graue, a louer of the libertie of his country, and such a one, as much misliked the tyrannous proceedings of the time. By meane whereof, it was easie both to appease him, and also perswade him to the destruction of *Georgio*. For, the occasions, which made him enemy to the populer Nobilitie and *Guelfi*, and friend to the multitude, was their insolencie, and their tyrannous maner of gouernment. And, seeing that the heads of the multitude, were become of like insolencie, he would likewise leaue them, as one that would not consent to the iniuries by them done to many Citizens. So in conclusion, those reasons which induced him to take part with the people, did also perswade him to leaue them. *Benedetto* and the heads of the Arts thus drawne to fauoure the populer Nobilitie, tooke armes, apprehended *Georgio*, & *Tomazo* fled away. The next day after, *Georgio* was beheaded, to so great terror of his partie, as no man moued in his fauour, though euery man went to behold his ruine. He being brotight to die, complained of those people, that lately had adored him, and lamented his own hard fortune, and the malignitie of the Citizens, who hauing wrongfully iniured him, were forced to fauoure, and honour the multitude, wherin was neither trust nor grauitie. And knowing *Benedetto Alberti* among the rest, of the armed men, said vnto him; And thou *Benedetto* doest consent to see me here so iniured, as if I were where thou art, I would not suffer thee: but I do prognosticate, that

Benedetto Alberti.

Georgio Scali beheaded.

that as this day is the end of my miserie, so is the same the beginning of thy destruction. He complained moreouer of himselfe, for hauing too much trusted to the people, whom euerie voice, euerie action, and euery suspition moueth and corrupteth. With these lamentations he ended his life, amidst his enemies armed, and reioycing at his death. Shortly after, certaine other his nearest friends were slaine, and drawne in the streetes by the people. The death of this Citizen troubled all the citie; for at the execution thereof, many tooke armes in fauoure of the *Senate* and Captaine of the people. Many other, either for their owne ambition, or suspition, did the like. Also the citie being full of diuerse humors, euerie man had his diuerse intent: which hee desired to execute before armes were layd downe. The olde Nobilitie (called great men) could not endure to see themselues deprived of the publique honours: and therefore with all studie laboured to recouer them, liking well that authoritie should be restored to the Captaines of factions. To the populer Nobilitie, and the greater mysteries it was offensive, that the state was participated with the lesse mysteries, and base people. On the other side, the lesse mysteries desired rather to encrease then diminish their dignities. And the poore people, feared to forgo their Colledges. Which diuersitie of mindes, made continually in *Florence* tumults to arise, for the space of one yeare. Sometimes the great men, sometimes the chiefe mysteries, sometimes the lesse, together with the multitude, and sometimes altogithers, at one instant in diuerse places were armed. Whereof ensued among themselues, and with the souldiers of the Pallace, diuerse conflicts. The *Senate*, sometimes by giuing place, and sometimes by fighting, sought all they could to remedie that mischief. Insomuch as, in the end, and after two consultations, and two *Balie*, for reformation of the citie, and after many harmes, many trauels, and many great perils, a gouernment was settled: whereby were reuoked, all those that before, and sith *Saluestro de Medici* was *Gonfaloniere*, had bene confined. All priuiledges and prouisions, were taken away from those to whome they had bene giuen by the *Balia* of 78. All honours were restored to the *Guelfi*. The two new mysteries were discorporated, and either of those remitted vnder the auncient mysteries. The *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*, was taken away from the lesse mysteries, and they reduced to be partakers of halfe the third part of the honours, and of those the best were taken from them. So that, the faction of populer Nobilitie & *Guelfi*, recouered the gouernment, & the multitude lost their authoritie, which they had holden from the yeare 1378. til 81. at which time, this alteration happened: neither was this gouernment lesse iniurious towards the Citizens, nor more mild, then was that of the multitude. For so many of the populer Nobilitie were confined, as had bene noted to be defenders thereof, together with a great number of the principall men of the multitude. And among them, *Michele Lando*; whose former authoritie and good deserts, could not in this time of populer furie, saue him. His country therfore, for many good merits, was to him vnthankfull. Into which errour, because many Princes and Commonweales do fall, is the cause, that men vpon like examples terrified, before they feele the smart of their gouernors ingratitude, do first offend them. These exilements & these slaughters did displeas, and euer had displeas *Benedetto Alberti*, and he both publicly, and priuately, blamed them. For which cause; the Lords of the state feared him, as chiefe friend to the multitude, and thought him consenting to the death of *Georgio Scali*: not because his doings did offend him, but to be alone in the gouernment. Besides that, his words and workes did encrease the suspition, which made that side which gouerned, to keepe eye vpon him; and watch opportunitie to oppresse him. The citie liuing in these tearmes, the actions abroad were of no great importance. For if any thing were done, it proceeded of feare, by reason that *Lodouico di Angio*

New reformation in Florence.

Michele Lando confined.

di Angio came then into *Italy*, to restore the kingdome of *Napoli* to the Queene *Giouanna*, and remooue *Carlo Durazzo*. The passage of this Prince, greatly amazed the *Florentines*; for *Carlo* (according to the custome of old friends) demaunded of them aide, & *Lodouico* (like vnto him that seeketh new friends) desired them to stand neutrall. Whereupon the *Florentines* to seeme willing to content *Lodouico*, and aide *Carlo*, discharged *Giouanni Aguto*, and procured Pope *Vrbano* to entertaine him: which subtiltie was easily by *Lodouico* discouered, and for the same held himselfe much inured by the *Florentines*. During the warre betwixt *Lodouico* and *Carlo* in *Puglia*, new forces came from *France* in the fauoure of *Lodouico*, who arriued in *Toscana*, were by the banished men of *Arezzo* brought into that citie: where they remoued the faction, which gouerned for *Carlo*: intending also to haue chainged the state of *Florence*, as they had altered *Arezzo*. Then died *Lodouico*, wherby the affaires of *Puglia* & *Toscana* varied Fortune. For *Carlo* assured himselfe of the kingdome, which was well neare lost. And the *Florentines* mistrusting the defence of *Florence*, recouered *Arezzo* and bought it, of those iouldiers which kept it, for *Lodouico*. *Carlo* then being assured of *Puglia*, went to take possession of *Hungheria*, which was by inheritance descended vnto him, leauing his wife in *Puglia*, with *Ladislao* and *Giouanna* his children, being but babes, as hereafter shall be declared. *Carlo* possessed *Hungheria*, but shortly after there died. For this conquest, much tryumph was made in *Florence*, and the magnificence thereof was no lesse both for publique and priuate expence, then if the occasion therof had bene their owne. For many families kept open feasts: and the house of *Alberti* for pompe and magnificence exceeded the rest. The expences & charge of Armour that the *Alberti* vsed, were not onely fit for priuate persons of the best degree, but for the greatest Princes: which gained them no small enuie. Whereto adding the suspicion which the state had of *Benedetto*, was the cause of his ruine; because those that gouerned, could not endure him: fearing euerie houre it might come to passe, that through fauoure of his faction, hee might recouer reputation, and driue them from the citie. These doubts remaining, it happened, that he being *Gonfaloniere* of companies, *Philippo Malagotti* his sonne in lawe, was chosen *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*: which doubled the mistrust of the Gouernours, imagining that *Benedetto* encreased ouer fast in force, and the state thereby in much perill. For preuention of which inconueniences without tumult, they encouraged *Bese Magalotti*, his companion, to signifie to the *Senate*, that *Philippo* hauing passed his turne, could not, nor ought not, exercise that office. The cause was by the *Senate* examined, some of them for hate, some to take away occasion of slander, iudged *Philippo* not capable of that dignitie, and elected in his place *Bardo Mancini*, a man to the plebeyan faction contrarie, and mortall enemy to *Benedetto*. In so much as, hee beeing placed in office, called a *Balia* for reformation of the state, and therein confined *Benedetto Alberti*, and admonished the rest of that family, onely *Antonio Alberti*, excepted. *Benedetto* being readie to depart, called vnto him all his friendes, and seeing them sad, said; you see (my good fathers and Lords) in what sort Fortune hath oppressed me, and threatned you: whereof I maruell not, neither ought you to maruell. Because it euer commeth to passe, that who so euer will be good among many euil, or doth seek to hold vp that which many labour to pull downe, must of force perish. The loue of my Countrey made me to ioyne with *Saluestro di Medici*, and after to depart from *Georgio Scali*. The same did likewise perswade me, to hate the maners of those that now gouerne: who as they haue not had any to punish them, so do they desire, that none should finde fault with them. For my part I am content with my banishment to acquite them of that feare which they had, not of me onely, but of euerie other man, that knoweth their tyrannous and wicked dealings. My punishment therefore doth

Carlo di Angio, come into Italy.

The death of Carlo di Angio.

Benedetto Alberti suspected and enuied.

The speech of Benedetto Alberti, at his banishment.

The death of
Benedetto
Alberti.

Gonan Gali-
azzo becom
prince of Lom-
bardy. 1393.

The death of
Galiazzo.

doth threaten others; of my selfe I take no pitie: for those honors which my coun-
try being free hath giuen me, now brought vnto seruitude, cannot take from mee.
And the memorie of my passed life shall alwaies more comfort mee, then mine hard
fortune which brought mine exile, shall discourage me. It grieueth me much, that
my country should become a spoile for a fewe, and be subiect to their pride and co-
uetousnesse. I am also right sorie to thinke, that those euils which now ende in me,
will begin in you. And I feare, least those miseries wil persecute you with more hin-
derance, then they haue persecuted me. I would therefore counsell you, to prepare
your mindes against all misfortunes, and beare your selues so, as what aduersitie so
euer happen (for many will happen) euery man may know you are faultlesse, & that
without your guilt they be hapned. After this leaue taken, to giue as great a testimo-
nie of his bountie abroad, as hee had done in *Florence*: he trauelled to the Sepulchre
of Christ, from whence returning, in the Ile of *Rodes* he died. His boanes were
brought to *Florence*, and therewith great honour buried, by those, who in his life,
with all flander and iniurie did molest him. During these troubles, the house of *Al-
berti* was not onely oppressed, but many other Citizens also admonished and confi-
ned. Among whom, were *Piero Benini*, *Mattheo Alderotti*, *Giouanni*, and *Francesco del
Bene*, *Giouanni Benci*, *Andrea Adimari*, and with them, a great number of the lesse my-
steries. Among the admonished were the *Couoni*, the *Benini*, the *Rinucci*, the *Formico-
ni*, the *Corbozi*, the *Manegli*, and the *Alderotti*. It was the custome to create the *Balia*
for time certaine, but those Citizens hauing it in their hands, being placed by honest
meane, notwithstanding their time were not expired, did yeelde vp their offices:
which being knowne, many ranne armed to the Pallace, desiring that before the of-
ficers departed, more Citizens might be confined, and admonished. Which request
greatly offēded the *Senat*, who with faire promises enterreined them, til forces were
made readie, & then wrought so, as feare enforced them to laie downe those armes,
which furie caused them to take in hand. Yet somewhat to feed so fierce an humor,
and notwithstanding take away more authoritie from the plebeyall Artizans: it was
ordered, that where they had the third of the offices, they should now haue onely
the fourth part. Also, to the ende that two of the most trustie Citizens might be al-
waies of the *Senate*, they gaue authoritie to the *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*, and foure o-
ther Citizens, to make a *Borza* of chosen men: out of which number at euerie *Senate*
should be elected two. The state thus settled after six yeares (which was in the yeare
1381.) the citie liued quiet within, till the yeare 1393. In which time, *Giouan Gali-
azzo Visconti*, called *Conte di Vertu*, tooke prisoner his vncl *Barnabo*, & by that mean,
became Prince of all *Lombardy*. This *Giouan Galiazzo* hoped by force to be made king
of *Italy*, as by craft he was attained to be Lord of *Milan*. And in the yeare 1390. hee
began a braue warre against the *Florentines*: wherein Fortune became so variable, as
many times the Duke was in no lesse daunger to lose all then the *Florentines*, who in-
deed had lost all, if the Duke had longer liued. Yet the resistance by them made, was
so couragious and maruellous, as might be by any Common weale; and the end no
lesse perillous, then the warre had bene terrible. For when the Duke had taken *Bolo-
gna*, *Pisa*, *Perugia*, and *Siena*, and prepared a Crowne to be set on his head in *Florence*,
as king of *Italy*, he died. Which death suffered him not to taste the sweete of his pas-
sed victories, nor the *Florentines* to feele the perils at hand. While this warre with
the Duke continued, *Masso degli Albizi* was made *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*, whom the
death of *Piero* had madeemie to the *Alberti*. And for that the humour of the fac-
tions continued, *Masso* (notwithstanding that *Benedetto* was dead in exile) did hope
before that *Senate* ended, to be reuenged vpon the rest of that family; and tooke oc-
casion, by one that was vpon certaine practises with the Rebelles examined, who
named

named *Alberto* and *Andrea delli Alberti*. Whereupon, both they were apprehended, and the citie wholly chaunged. In so much as the *Senate* tooke armes, assembled the people, created a new *Balia*, and by vertue thereof, many Cittizens were confined, and new Imborfations of officers made. Among those that were confined, were almost all the *Alberti*, many Cittizens also admonished, and some put to death. Vpon occasion of so great iniuries, the mysteries and the base people tooke armes, thinking their honour and liues were in hazard. One part of them came into the Market place, an other ranne to the house of *Veri di Medici*: who after the death of *Salustro* remained as chiefe of that family. To deceiue those that came into the Market place, the *Senate* appointed Captaines, and gaue the Ensigne of the faction *Guelfa*, deliuering the same into the hands of *Rinaldo Gianfigliuzzi*, and *Donato Acciaiuoli*, as men of the populer number, more then any other acceptable to the multitude. Those that went to the house of *Veri*, desired him to take the gouernment, and deliuer them from such as were enemies to good men, and good orders. All such writers as haue left memorie of the proceedings of that time, do affirme, that if *Veri* had not bene more honest, then ambitious, hee might without any let, haue aspired to the principallitie of that citie. Because the exceeding great iniuries done to the mysteries, some iustly and some vniustly, had so kindled their mindes to reuenge, as nothing wanted for the performance of their desires, but a Captaine to lead them. Neither wanted those, that would put *Veri* in remembrance what he might do. For *Antonio di Medici* (who had before time bene long for priuate respects, his enemy) did perswade him to take in hand the gouernment of the state. To whom he answered, as thy threatnings (being mine enemy) made me not to feare thee; so thy Councell being my friend, shall not abuse me. Hauing vttered these words, he returned himselfe to the multitude, and perswading them to be of good courage, promised to be their defender, so that they would be content to be by him directed. Then in the midst of them he went to the Market place, and from thence vpto the Pallace, and being come to the presence of the *Senate*, said. That he was not sorie to haue so liued, that the people of *Florence* did loue him: but yet sorie hee was, that they had not such opinion of him, as his passed life did deserue. For sith he had not shewed any signe of seditiō or ambition, he could not conceiue why he was thought a maintainer of sedition (or as ambitious) a man that studied to vsurpe his country. Therefore hee humbly besought their Lordships, that the ignorance of the multitude might not be imputed his fault: because so much as in him was, hee submitted himselfe vnto them. He moreouer put them in minde to vse their fortune modestly, and be content to take rather halfe a victorie with sauing the citie, then a whole conquest with the ruine thereof. The *Senators* greatly commended *Veri*, and required him to perswade, that armes might belaide downe, and then they would not faile to do that, which he and other Cittizens should counsell them. After these speeches, *Veri* returned to the Market place, and ioyning his followers, to those that were conducted by *Rinaldo* and *Donato*, said vnto them all, that hee had found in the *Senators* a verie good disposition towards them, to whom he had also said much, albeit by means of the short time, and absence of the officers, nothing was concluded. Wherefore he praied them to laie their weapons downe, and obey the *Senate*: thereby to declare that curtesie, rather then pride, entreatie, more then threatning, might moue them: and that they should not lacke meanes and securitie, so long as they were by him gouerned. Thus vpon his word euery man was content to return to his owne house. The multitude hauing vpon this perswasion disarmed themselves, the *Senate* first caused a guard to be set in the Market place: then they mustered two thousand Cittizens, men assured to the state, equally diuiding them vnder *Gonfaloni*, whom they commaunded to be

Veri di Medici.

The speech of Veri di Medici to the Senat of Florence.

readie

readie whensoever that they were called. Also commandement was giuen, that no man whose name was not taken nor warned, should for anie cause be armed. This preparation made, they confined & slew many of those Artificers which had in the late tumult shewed themselues most seditious and violent. And to the end that the *Gonfaloniere de Giustizia*, might haue more reputation & dignitie: it was ordered and thought necessary, that whosoever did exercise that office, should be of 45. yeres. For confirmation of the state, many other provisions were deuised. These ordinances made, the *Senators* were insupportable, and to the good Citizens (euen of their own faction) they became odious. For they could not iudge any state good or secure, which had need with so great violence to be defended. So that this maner of proceeding, did not onely offend those of the familie of *Alberti*, which yet remained in the citie: and the *Medici*, who thought them to haue abused the people, but many others also were with so great violence displeased. But the first that opposed himselfe was *Donato* sonne to *Giacopo Acciaiuoli*. He being in the citie great, and rather superiour; then equall, to *Masso degli Alberti* (who for the great seruice done, when he gouerned as *Gonfaloniere* was accounted as head of the Commonaltie) could not among so many discontentations liue contented: nor (as the most men do) preferre priuate profit, before common commoditie. And therefore, thought he would assaie to restore those that had bene banished, or at the least, set the admonished into their offices. For compassing whereof, he whispered his intent in the eare of this and that Citizen, shewing that otherwise he could not please the people, nor staie their offence. And concluding said, hee onely staied to be of the *Senate*, and then to put the matter in execution. Yet because in the actions of men, delaiie bringeth wearinesse, and haste is accompanied with perill: to shunne wearinesse, hee resolved to aduenture with perill. Amongst the *Senators*, *Michele Acciaiuoli* his companion, and *Nicholo Riconori* his friend, were elected: whereby *Donato* imagined a fit opportunitie to be offered, and desired them to propound a lawe to the Councels, wherein should be contained the restoration of the Cittizens. They being by him perswaded, commoned with their fellows, who answered, that they would attempt no new matters, sith the obtaining of them was doubtfull, and the perill certaine. Then *Donato* hauing in vaine made prooffe of euerie mean, in great choller let them vnderstand, that seeing vpon good occasion offered, they did not reforme the citie, he would with force of armes do it. Which words being greatly offensive, and the matter debated among the chiefe *Gouernours*, *Donato* was cited, and appearing, was by witnessse of him to whom he committed the message, conuincid: and in the end confined to *Barletta*. Also *Antonio de Medici* with all the rest, descended of *Alamanno*, together with many base Artizans (yet such as had credit with the people) were banished: which things happened after two yeres, that *Masso* had taken in hand the gouernment. The citie thus standing, many were discontented within, and many without banished. Of which number remained at *Bologna*, *Picchio*, *Cauicciulli*, *Tomazo de Ricci*, *Antonio de Medici*, *Benedetto degli Spini*, *Antonio Girolami*, *Christofano di Carlone*, with two others of vile condition: but all yoong men aduenturers, and disposed to hazard any fortune for their country. To these men, secret intelligence was giuen by *Piggiello*, and *Baroccio Cauicciulli* (who as men admonished liued in *Florence*) that if they did come to the citie disguised, they wold receiue them into their houses. From whence they might go and kill *Masso degli Albizi*, and call the people to armes, who (being discontent) would easily moue, and the rather, because they should be followed by the *Ricci*, *Adimari*, *Medici*, *Manegli*, and many other families. They then encouraged with this hope, the fourth of August 1297. came to *Florence*, and entring secretly as they were appointed, sent to know where *Masso* was,

Donati Acciaiuoli.

Donati Acciaiuoli with others confined.

Conspiracie in Florence against Masso Delli Albizi and others.

was, intending with his death to raise the tumult. At that time, *Masso* was come from his house, & staid in an Appothecaries shop; neare *San Pietro Maggiore*. The messenger sent to await him, ran to tell the conspirators therof; who taking armes and coming to the place found him gone: yet not dismaid that this appointmēt sped not; returned towards the old Market, & there killed one of the cōtrary factiō. Then the larum began, & the people cried armes, libertie, & kill these tyrants: which done, they returned towards the new Market, & at the end of *Calimara*, they flew an other: And with like showte, following their way, & no man taking armes, at the *Loggia Nighitiosa*, they staid. Then they climed vp to a high place, and a great multitude drew neare, rather to behold them then helpe them, and with a loud voice they perswaded men to take armes, & acquite themselves of that seruitude which they so greatly hated; alledging, that the lamentation of the euill contented persons in the cittie, more then their owne iniuries moued them to seeke meane to be deliuered. And that they knew, many did pray God to grant them occasion to be reuenged: which they wold performe, whensoever they might find a head to lead them. And now occasion being come, & Captains ready to lead them, euery man looked one vpon an other, and stood as men amazed. So that, their resolution was in vaine, and the Citizens stil with bondage burthened. Also they much maruelled, that they (who for euery small iniurie were wont to take armes) would not now be moued, but suffer so many their Citizens to be banished and admonished: yet was it in their power to restore the banished to their countrey, and the admonished to their offices. Which words (though true) moued not the multitude at all, either for feare, or els because the death of those two had made the murderers odious. So that the mouers of the tumult, seeing that neither words nor deeds had force to encourage any man, (too late aware how dangerous a thing it is to labour the libertie of a people, that will in any wise be subiect) despairing of the enterprise, into the temple of *Santa Reparata*, retired themselves: and there not to saue their liues, but delaie their death, they shut themselves vp. The *Senators* at the beginning of the tumult were armed and shut the Pallace gate, till after the case was vnderstood, & the men knowne that moued the rumour, being before locked vp, tooke courage, & commanded the Captaine to call his souldiers to apprehend the offenders. In so much that with small force the doores of the Temple were broken: part of them within were slain, in defence of the place, & the rest takē. They being examined, confessed none to be culpable but *Barocco* and *Piggiello Cauicciulli*, with others that were slaine. After this accident, there happened one other of more importance. At this time (as hath bene before said) the cittie had warre with the Duke of *Milan*, who finding that to oppresse it, his forces sufficed not, determined to worke with wiles, and by aid of the banished *Florentines* (of whom *Lombardy* was full) practised that enterprise, whereto also many within the towne were made priuie. Concluding that vpon a certain day, many of those banished men, apt for armes, should go to places neare *Florence*, & by the riuer *Arno* passe into the citie, and there with friends enter the houses of the chiefe gouernors, and sleying them, reform the gouernment as themselves thought good. Among the conspirators within, was one of the house of *Ricci* named *Samminiato*, but (as in conspiracies for the most part it happeneth) that a fewe are not of force inough, and many will not keepe counsell: *Samminiato* seeking companions, found an accuser. This man imparted the matter to *Saluestro Cauicciulli*, whome the iniuries done to his kinsfolke and himselfe, ought haue made trustie. But he regarding more the feare at hand, then the future hope, suddainly bewrayed the practise to the *Senators*, and they apprehending *Samminiato*, constrained him to confesse all the conspirators: yet was there no man apprehended, sauing *Tomazo Duusi*, who coming from *Bologna*, and not hea-

Conspiracy by
the Duke of
Milan against
Florence.

ring what happened in *Florence*, was by the way intercepted. All the rest after the apprehension of *Samminiato* for feare, fled. Then *Samminiato* and *Tomazo*; being according to their merits punished: authoritie was giuen to diuerse Citizens to finde out more offenders, and assure the state. They then discovered for Rebels, sixe of the family of *Ricci*, sixe of the *Alberti*, three of the *Medici*, three of the *Scali*, two of the *Strozzi*, *Bindo Altouiti*, *Barnardo Adimari*, with many of the meaner sort. They admonished all the family of *Alberti*, *Ricci*, and *Medici*, for tenne yeares (a fewe of them excepted). Among the *Alberti* was one called *Antonio*, who being accounted a quiet and peaceable man, was in that respect not admonished. It chanced after the suspition of the conspiracie not quenched, there was a Monke taken, who had bene seene diuerse times during the conspiracie, to goe from *Bologna* to *Florence*. This Monke confessed that he had brought diuerse letters to *Antonio*, who denied the matter, yet being auowed by the Monke, he was condemned in mony, and confined 300. miles distant from the citie. Also to the end, that the *Alberti* might not daily put the state in daunger, all that family aboue fiftene yeares of age, were banished. This accident happened in the yeare 1402. The next yeare died *Giouan Galiazzo*, Duke of *Milan*: whose death (as is before said) ended the warre which had continued twelue yeares. In this meane space, the gouernment became of more authoritie: and hauing fewe enemies both within and without, the *Florentines* attempted the enterprise of *Pisa*, and gloriously conquered that citie. They continued then quiet within, from the yeare 1400. till 33. sauing that in the yeare 1412. the *Alberti*, hauing broken their confines, a *Balia* was chosen, wherby new ordinances were made to assure the state, and impose greater paiments vpon them. In that time also, the *Florentines* made war to *Ladislao* King of *Napoli*, which was ended by the death of the King: in the yeare 1414. In execution whereof, the King finding himselfe the weaker, yeelded to the *Florentines* the citie of *Cortona*, where he was Lord. Yet shortly after he reuiuied the warre, which proued more dangerous then the former. And had the same not bene, as the other, ended by the Duke of *Milans* death, he had also brought the libertie of our citie into that daunger, that by the Duke it had bene. Neither did this war of the Kings end, with lesser aduenture then the other. For when he had surprized *Rome*, *Siena*, *La Marca*, and *Romagna*, and that he wanted nothing, but *Florence* to passe with a mightie force into *Lombardy*, hee died. So as, death was euer more friendly to the *Florentines*, then any other friend: and of more power to defend them, then any other vertue. After the death of this King, the citie continued quiet without & within eight yeares. In the end of which time, with the warres of *Philippo* Duke of *Milan*, the factions were reuiuied: and continued til the ruine of that state, which from 1380. had bene gouerned, and with much glorie, enterprised many warres, and brought vnder the Empire thereof, *Arezzo*, *Piso*, *Cortona*, *Liorno*, and *Monte Pulciano*. And would haue done greater things, had the citie continued vnited, and the old humors not bene reuiuied. As in the next booke shall particularly be declared.

The famely
of *Alberti*
confined.
An. 1402.

The death of
Ladislao King
of *Naples*.

The ende of the third Booke.

THE



Error committed by the populer nobilitie.

Advice of Nicolo Vzano a gainst the Medici.

Leage betwixt the Florentins and the Duke of Milan.

the *Albizi*, *Ricci*, and *Medici*. Those houses were diuerse times spoyled, both of their men and substance, and if any of them remained in the citie, their honours and offices were taken from them. Which oppression made that part base minded, and (as it were) viterly trodden downe. Notwithstanding, there remained in many men, a certaine memorie of iniuries receiued, and a desire to reuenge them. Yet wanting power to performe their will, they kept that desire within their breasts, secretly hidden. Those of the populer Nobilitie, who peaceably gouerned the citie, committed two errors, which were the causes of their ruine. The one through their insolency, which grew by continuall authoritie and being in office. The other, through enuie among themselues, & the long holding the state in their hands, they did not prevent those that might offend them: but daily reuuing the vniuersall hatred by their sinister proceedings, not remoouing the matter that might hurt and was to be feared, were the causes that the house of *Medici* recovered authoritie. The first of them that begun to stand vp, was *Giuanni*, the sonne of *Bicci*. He, become exceeding rich, and being of nature curteous, & affable, was with the allowance of those that gouerned, ascended to the highest office. Whereat the multitude so greatly reioyced (supposing to haue gotten a protector) that the wiser sort conceiued some iust cause of suspection: because thereby they found all the old humors begun to arise. And *Nicholo di Vzano* failed not to aduertise the other Citizens, how daungerous a thing it was to aduance one, who had among the multitude, so much reputation: saying, it was easie to oppresse any inconuenience at the first, but letting it growe, the remedie was hardly found. For hee knew well, that in *Giuanni*, there were many more excellent partes, then in *Saluestro*. *Nicholo* could not be heard of his companions: because they enuied his reputation, and sought for assistance to oppresse him. Men thus liuing in *Florence*, be set with contrary humours, (which secretly began to boyle within their breasts) *Philippo Visconti* second sonne of *Giovan Galiazzo*, being by the death of his brother, become Lord of all *Lombardy*, and deuising vpon some enterprize, desired greatly to be againe owner of *Genoua*, which at that present vnder *Tomazo Frogolo* liued in libertie. Yet feared he could neither compassse that nor any other thing, vnlesse first hee published a new accord with the *Florentines*: the reputation whereof, (as hee thought) might bring him to satisfaction. For which purpose, hee sent Embassadours to *Florence*: who beeing there, and perswading the league, it was by many Cittizens thought vnfit to ioyne with him, and yet they wished that the peace which had many yeares continued, should still endure. For they knewe what fauoure and reputation the league would doo him, and how small profit the citie should receiue thereof. To others it was thought good, that the league should be made, thereby to procure the Duke to enter conditions and bondes, which if he passed, euery man might discouer his euill intent, and should (if he brake the peace) the more iustly make warre vpon him. Thus (the matter being throughly debated) the peace was concluded. Wherein *Philippo* promised, that hee would not entermedle with anie thing on this side the Riuer of *Magra* and *Panaro*. After this conclusion *Philippo* surprized *Brescia*, and shortly after *Genoua*, contrary to the opinion of those that had perswaded the peace. For they beleued that *Brescia* had bene defended by the *Venetians*, and *Genoua* could haue defended it selfe. And because in the league which *Philippo* had made with the *Doge* of *Genoua*, he had reserued *Serezana*, and other Townes on this sides *Magra*, with condition that if he sold them, hee then to sell them to the *Genouesi*, the league was broken. Besides this, hee made peace with the Legate of *Bologna*. Which things, altered the mindes of our Citizens, and made them (doubting newe mischiefes) to looke for newe remedies. These suspitions

suspicions come to the care of *Filippo*, either to gratifie, or seele the disposition of the *Florentines*, or else to abuse them, sent Ambassadors vnto *Florence*, and by them signified, how he marvelled much at the suspicion conceiued, and therewith offered to renounce euerie thing by him done, whereof anie mistrust might grow: which Ambassadors wrought none other effect, then diuision of the citie. For the one part, (and those that were most reputed in the gouernment) thought good to arme, and prevent the enemy. Notwithstanding if *Filippo* stood quiet, there should be no war at all, and in the meane time, that prouision was an occasion of peace. Many others, either enuying those that gouerned, or fearing the warre, iudged that it was no wisdom, lightly to become suspicious: neither were things by *Philippo* done, worthie to be suspected. But they knew wel, that to elect the Ten, and to hire souldiers, promised warre: which being taken in hand against so great a Prince, should be the ruine of the citie, without hope of any profit. For of his victories (hauing *Romagna* in the midst) we could not receiue good, nor become Princes of that country. And of *Romagna* it self (by reason of the neer nesse of the church) they could not think to become owners. Notwithstanding, the authoritie of those that would make preparation for war, preuailed before the other, that desired peace. And therefore they created the Ten, hired souldiers, & imposed Subsidies. Which proceedings (because they burthened more the lesse, then greater Citizens) filled the cittie with sorrow, and euery man blamed the ambition & authoritie of the great men, accusing them, that to fulfill their appetites, and oppresse the people, they would make a warre not necessary. Yet was not the Duke come to manifest breach, but euery thing was full of suspicion. For *Philippo*, at the request of the Legate of *Bologna* (who feared *Antonio Bentiuogli* banished, and remaining at the Castle *Bolognese*) had sent men to that citie: which beeing neare the dominion of *Florence*, held the state in mistrust. But that which most amazed euery man, and gaue much cause to discouer the warre, was the enterprise of the Duke at *Furli*. *Georgio Ordilaffi*, was Lord of *Furli*, who dying, left *Tibaldo* his sonne, vnder protection of *Philippo*. And albeit the mother, supposing the Duke to be a Tutor vnfit, and therefore sent her childe to *Lodouico Alidosi* her father, Lord of *Imola*) yet was she forced by the people to obserue her husbands testament, and commit him to the Dukes hands. Then *Philippo* to make himselfe the lesse suspected, and the rather also to couer his intent, deuised that the Marquesse of *Farrara* should send *Guido Torello* with some forces, to be his deputie, and take the gouernment of *Furli*. Thus came that towne into the possession of *Philippo*, which being knowne in *Florence*, together with the newes of the souldiers come to *Bologna*, made the resolutiō for the war the more speedie, notwithstanding it had before great contradiction, & *Giouan de Medici* publikely spake against it, saying, that although he were certaine of the Dukes euil disposition, yet were it better that hee should march first, thē they go towards him: for so the war should be iustificable, in the iudgement of other princes: neither could we so boldly aske aid, as we might after that his ambitiō was discouered. Also, mē wold with an other mind defend their own, thē assault the goods of others. To the cōtrary, was said, it were not good to tarry for the enemy at home, but rather go seeke him. And fortune was more friend to him that assaulteth, thē to him that defendeth. Moreouer with lesse losse (though with more charge) the war is made far frō home, then neare at hand. In the end, this opiniō preuailed. And resolutiō was set down, that the Ten should deuise some means how the city of *Furli* might be recouered frō the Duke. *Philippo* seeing that the *Florentines* went about to surprize those things which he had taken in hand to defend, set respects apart, & sent *Agnolo della Pargola* with great forces to *Imola*, to the end, that prince, hauing occasion to defend his own, should not think vpon his grandchild. *Agnolo* arriued neare *Imola*,

Consultation
in Florenee.

(the forces of the *Florentines* being also at *Magdigliana*) the weather frostie, and the towne ditches frozen, in the night, by stealth, surprized the towne, and sent *Lodouico* prisoner to *Milan*. The *Florentines* seeing *Imola* lost, and the warre discovered, commaunded their men to go vnto *Furli*, and on euerie side besieged that citie. Also to the end that all the Dukes forces should not come to rescue it, they hired the Earle *Alberigo*, who from his towne *Zagonara* issued out, spoyling the country euen to the gates of *Imola*. *Agnola della Pergola*, finding he could not with securitie succour *Furli*, by reason of the strength where our Campe laie, thought good to besiege *Zagonara*, thinking that the *Florentines* would not lose that place, and if they did relieue it, then of force they must abandon *Furli*, and fight with disaduantage. The Dukes forces then enforced *Alberigo* to demaund composition, which was graunted; he promising to yeeld the towne at any time, if within fifteene daies, it were not rescued by the *Florentines*. This disorder knowne in the *Florentines* Campe and in the Citie, and euerie man desirous to preuent the enemye of that victorie, occasioned them to haue a greater. For their Campe being departed from *Furli* to succour *Zagonara*; and entercountring the enemye was ouerthrowne: not so much through vertue of the aduersarie, as the vnhappinesse of the weather. For, our men hauing diuerse houres marched in the deepe myre and raine, found the enemies fresh, and for that reason by them were vanquished. Notwithstanding, in so great an ouerthrow published through all *Italy*, there died no more then *Lodouico degli Obizi*, with two others, who fallen from their horse were myred to death. All the citie of *Florence* at this ouerthrow, became sad: and chiefly the great Citizens who had counselled the warre. For they sawe the enemye braue, their selues disarmed, without friends, and the people against them: who murmured, and with iniurious words, complained of the great Impositions and Subsidies, they had paide to the maintenance of the warre taken in hand, without any cause or occasion. Saying moreouer, now they hauing created the Ten, to terrifie the enemye, haue succoured *Furli*, and taken it from the Duke. Thus do they bewraie their Councils to what end they are: not to defend the libertie, but encrease their own power, which God iustly hath diminished. Neither haue they only burthened the citie with this enterprise, but with many others: for like to this, was that against King *Ladislaio*. To whome will they now resort for aide? To Pope *Martino*? who hath bene in their sight trodden vpon by *Braccio*? To the Queene *Giouanna*? she was by them abandoned, and forced to cast her selfe vpon the King of *Aragon*. Besides these contumelies, they repeated all such iniurious reprocues, as a people offended, could imagine. It was therefore thought good to the *Senators*, to assemble a good number of Citizens, and with curteous speech appease the humours mooued in the multitude. Then *Rinaldo degli Albizi*, eldest sonne of *Masso*, (who with his owne vertue, & the memorie of his father, aspired to the chief honour of the citie) declared at large: that it was no wisdom to iudge enterprises by their successe. Because many things well deuised, haue had no good end, & others euil deuised, haue good. Also, if euil counsels hauing good successe, should be commended, the same wold encourage men to commit errors, which would proue to great disaduantage of the Common weale: for it euer falleth out, that euill counsels be vnfortunate. In like maner they erred, to blame a wise counsell, that hath no desired end: for thereby they discouradge the Citizens to counsell the citie, & saie frankly, what they knew or vnderstood. Then he shewed the necessitie of that war, and how if it had not bene begun in *Romagna*, it should haue bene in *Toscana*. But sith it pleased God that their forces be ouerthrowne, the losse should be the lesse, if the enterprise were not abandoned. For if they would still shewe their faces to Fortune, and endeuour themselves to recouer that was lost, neither should they finde any

The Florentines ouerthrowne.

The speech of Rinaldo de Albizi to appeaze the people.

any losse, nor the Duke any victorie. They ought also not to repine at the charge or Impositions that should be laid vpon them, because those payments which they had made, were reasonable, and the rest that should after be imposed would not bee so great. For lesse preparation is required for them that defend, then those that will offend. In the end, he perswaded them to imitate their auncestors, who by being in euerie aduersitie couragious, did defend themselves against all Princes whatsoever. The Citizens encouraged with the authoritie of this man, entertained the Earle *Oddo* Braccio. sonne of *Braccio*, with whom they ioyned *Nicholo Piccinino*, brought vp vnder *Brac-* Piccinino. *cio*, a man most esteemed of all those that serued vnder his Ensigne, and vnder them they appointed other leaders. Also of their owne forces lately broken, some Captaines of horse men remained. Moreouer they elected twentie Citizens to impose new Subsidies, who being encouraged with seeing the greatest Citizens oppressed by the late overthrow, imposed vpon them without respect. This imposition much grieved the great Citizens, yet not to declare themselves vnwilling, at the first, shewed no priuate offence: but generally blamed the matter, giuing their aduise, that the Impositions might cease; which being knowne to many, tooke no effect in the Councils: and thereupon to occasion these repiners feele the smart of their counsell, and make the matter more odious, they ordered, that the Imposers should proceed with all seueritie, and haue authoritie to kill any man that should withstand the publique officers. Whereof followed many foule accidents, by murdering and hurting of the Citizens. In so much, as the factions came to bloud: and euerie wise man feared future mischiefes. Because, the great men (who were vsed to respect) could not endure to be laide hand vpon: and others were not content that euerie man should equally be burthened. Many of the chiefe Citizens therefore assembled themselves, and concluded, that it behoued them to take the gouernment into their hand: because their small diligence had giuen head, and suffered the publique proceedings to be reprobued: allowing ouermuch boldnesse in those that were wont to be heads of the multitude: Hauing to this effect consulted, they determined manie times to meete all together; and in the church of *S. Steffano* assembled more then 70. Citizens, with the lycence and allowance of *Lorenzo Ridolfi*, and *Francesco Gianfigliuzzi*, who at that time were of the *Senate*. To this conuention, *Giouanni de Medici* came not, either because he was as a suspect, vncalled, or that hee would not (being of contrary opinion) appeare. But *Rinaldo delli Albizi*, as mouth of that companie, Rinaldo di Albizi. discoursed the estate of the citie, & how by their negligence it was come to the hand of the multitude, from whome in the yeare 1381. by their auncestors it was taken: putting them in minde of the iniquitie that raigned in that state, from the yeare 77. till 81. And how sith that time, till this present, some had their fathers slaine, some their grandfathers, & now were returned to the selfesame perils, & the citie fallen to the like disorders; because the multitude had alreadie at their pleasure imposed Subsidies: & wold ere long, (if the same were not by a greater force or better order withstood) appoint the Magistrates. Which being brought to passe, the multitude would vsurpe their places, and ruine that state, which had bene with much glorie of the cittie fortie and two yeares continued: and *Florence* should be gouerned either casually, vnder the will of the multitude (so as one part should liue lycentiously, the other daungerously) or vnder the commandement of some one that shall make himselfe Prince of all. Wherefore he assured them, that euerie man that loued his country, and his owne honour, was constrained to beware: and put them in minde of the vertue of *Bardo Mancini*, who with the ruine of the *Alberti*: saued the citie from those perils wherein it then was: and that occasion of boldnesse in the multitude, proceeded of the large *Squittini*, which were by their negligence made: which was the
cause

cause also that the Pallace was filled with new men and people of base condition. He therefore concluded that the only remedie was, to yeeld the gouernment to the great Citizens, and remoue the lesse Artificers from their authoritie: reducing them from 14. to 7. companies. Which should be a meane that the multitude could haue in the Councils lesse authoritie: as well in respect, that the number of them were diminished, as that the great men should haue most power, who for the old enmity did disfauour the multitude, affirming likewise that to know how to imploy men, according to the time was great wisdom. For as their ancestors vsed the multitude to oppresse the insolency of the great men (who thereby became humble and the multitude insolent) so it were now fit to bridle the insolenci thereof, with the aide of the great men. And for compassing of these matters they might resort either to subtiltie or force. For some of them beeing of the Tenne, by that colour might bring men secretly into the citie. This counsell giuen by *Rinaldo*, was by euery man allowed. And *Nicholo of Vzano* among other, said; that all things alledged by *Rinaldo* were true, and the remedies good and certaine, if the same might be done without manifest diuision of the citie: which would come to passe if *Giouan de Medici*, were not perswaded from them. For hee being on our side, the multitude without head and force, could not offend. But if he wold not consent, without armes it could not be. And with armes it were daungerous, for either they should not preuaile, or not enioy the victory. Also, modestly he reduced to their memories, his former admonitions, & how they refused to prevent these difficulties, when they might. But now the time serued not to do it, without hazarding a greater mischiefe, and therefore, as the vttermost refuge, it behoued to gaine his fauour. Commisioñ therefore was granted for *Rinaldo*, to goe vnto *Giouanni*, and perswade him to be of their minde. This Gentleman performed his Commisioñ, and with the best reasons he was able, perswaded him to enter with them into this action, and that he would not for the loue of the multitude become insolent, to the ruine of the state, & citie. Wherto *Giouanni* answered, that he thought it the office of a wise and good Citizen, not to alter the accustomed orders of the citie, because there was nothing that so much offended men, as alteration, sith thereby many be offended, & where many liue discontented, some euill accident is daily to be looked for. Also hee thought, that this their resolution might worke two effects verie dangerous. The one by giuing the honours to those, who neuer before hauing them, would not much esteeme them, and should haue the lesse occasion to complaine, if they neuer had them. The other by taking the honours from those that were vsed to haue them, should make them vnquiet till they were restored. And so shall the iniurie done to the one part, be greater, then the benefit, which the other part could thereby receiue. Thus shall the authour of this change, win few friends, & many enemies: and these will be more ready to offend him, thē the others to defend him. For mē are more naturally inclined to reuēge an iniury, thē be thankful for a good turne: because this bringeth losse, but that promiseth profit and pleasure. Then turning his face towards *Rinaldo*, saide. And you sir, if you remember matters passed & with what subtilties men walk within this citie, your self would be more lowe in these resolutions. For the giuer of that counsell, so soone as with your forces he hath taken away the authoritie of the people, would againe take the same from you, by the aide of those, who by this meane of iniurie, will become your foes. And it will befall to you as it did to *Benedetto Alberti*, who (through the perswasions of him that loued him not) cōsented to the ruine of *Georgio Scali* and *Tomazo Strozzi*: and shortly after, by the selfesame men that perswaded him, was sent into exile. Hee therefore wished him more naturally to thinke vpon matters, & be willing to follow his father, who hauing loue of the multitude, cared

not

The answer
of Giouanni
di Medici to
Rinaldo.

not to offend a few men euill disposed. It was then ordained that whoſoever had to paie halfe a Florine for Subſidie, ſhould paie it, for not : as himſelfe pleaſed. And beſides all men indebted, ſhould for the day of the counsell goe free, with out moleſtation of his creditors. In the end he concluded, that for his owne part, he would leaue the cittie in that order and eſtate, it preſently remained. Theſe matters thus handled, were vnderſtood abroad, and the ſame gaue great reputation to *Giouanni* and hatred to the other cittizens. Neuertheſſe hee diſcontinued all affaires, the rather to diſcourage thoſe, that vnder his fauour intended new practiſes. Alſo, in all his comunication, hee let euerie man to vnderſtand that hee would not nourish, but extinguish factions. And for himſelfe, he deſired nothing but the vnion of the cittie: yet were manie that followed him, therewith diſcontented. For diuers of them did perſwade him to be in thoſe matters more quick: of which number was *Alamanno de medici*, who being fierce of nature, ceaſed not to ſollicite him to perſecute their enemies, & fauour friends, blaming his coldneſſe, & ſlow maner of proceeding. Which was (as he alledged) occaſion that their foes without reſpect, practiſed againſt him. Which one daie would take effect, with the ruine of his houſe and friends. To the ſame effect, was hee encouraged, by *Coſimo* his ſonne. Yet notwithstanding all theſe reaſons to him reuealed or prognosticated, hee ſtood firme in his intent, and by that meanes the faction became diſcouered, and the cittie in manifeſt diuiſion. At that time were in the Pallace two Chauncellors, one called *Ser Martino*, and the other *Ser Pagolo*. This fauoured the parte of *Vzano*, that of *Medici*. *Rinaldo* ſeeing that *Giouanni* reſuſed to concurre with them, thought fit to depriue *Ser Martino* of his office, hoping afterwards to finde the Pallace more ſuourable. That practiſe foreſeene by the aduerſaries, *Martino* was defended; and *Pagolo* with ſorrow and iniury of his friends remooued: which had preſently wrought bad effects, if the preſent warre had not bene, & the cittie by the ouerthrow receiued at *Zagonara*, terrified. During the time that theſe matters were managed in *Florence*, *Agnolo della Pergola* had with the Dukes forces taken all the townes which the *Florentines* poſſeſſed in *Romagna* (*Caſtaro* and *Modigliana* excepted) ſome of them being loſt by the weakeneſſe of the place, and others by the default of thoſe, that had them in garde. In the ſurprizing of theſe townes, two notable things appeared. The firſt, how much the vertue of men euen to their enemies, is acceptable. The other, how greatly cowardice and fainte heart, is contemned. *Biagio of Milan*, was Captaine of the forteſſe called *Montepetroſo*. He being enuironed with fire and enemies, not finding any meanes how to defend his charge, or eſcape with life, caſt ouer the wall (where no fire yet burned) certaine cloathes and ſtrawe, and vpon the ſame his owne two children, and ſaid to his enemies; Take you here thoſe goods which fortune hath giuen me, and you haue power to bereaue me of, but my riches of minde wherein glorie and my honour lieth, neither will I giue them, nor you can take them from me. The enemies ran to ſaue the poore children, and offered him roapes and ladders to conuey himſelfe downe ſafe. But he reſuſed all ſuccours, chuſing rather to die in fire, then receiue a life from the enemies of his country. An example truly like to thoſe, of the auncient time ſo highly commended. And is the more notable, that ſuch reſolutions are but rare. The children were by the enemies reſtored to all things that were theirs, and could be found: and with great care conueyed to their friends, to whom their countrey alſo was no leſſe kinde. For (during their liues) they were publiſely releued and maintained. The contrary happened in *Galeata*, where *Zanobi di Pino* was *Podesta*. For he without any defence, yeelded his charge to the enemy: and beſides perſwaded *Agnolo* to abandon the Alpes of *Romagna*, and come into the hilles of *Toſcana*; where he might make warre with leſſe perill, and more profit. But *Agnolo* could not endure
the

Biagio of Milan.

Zanobi Pino.

the cowardice and base mind of that man, and therefore gaue him prisoner to his seruants, who in contempt, and disdain allowed him no more foode, but painted cards, saying, by that means they would make him of a *Guelfo* to become a *Ghibellino*. But within a few daies, *Pino* pined to death. In this meane time the Earle *Oddo* together with *Nicholo Piccinino* was entred into the vale of *Lanona*, to reduce the Lord of *Faenza* to the friendship of the *Florentines*, or at the least to empeach *Agnola della Pergola* in the spoile of *Romagna*. Yet by reason that vale is strong, and the country people warlike, it chaunced that *Oddo* was slaine, and *Nicholo Piccinino* ledde prisoner to *Faenza*. But fortune would, that the *Florentines* obtained that by this losse, which if they had woon the victorie should percase neuer haue bene compassed. For *Nicholo* being prisoner, wrought so with the Lord of *Faenza* & his mother, that they by his perswasion became friendes to the *Florentines*. By this league *Nicholo Piccinino* was deliuered, but folowed not that counsell he gaue to others. For whiles he comoned with the cities that entertained him, either for that the conditions he had made seemed ouer meane, or that he hoped of better elsewhere, suddenly without leaue taking, departed from *Arezzo* where hee lodged, and went into *Lombardy*, and there tooke paie of the Duke. The *Florentines* by this accident became fearefull: and being dismayd with their charges lost, thought they could not alone maintaine the warre, and therefore sent Embassadours to the *Venetians*, desiring them while the enterprise was easie, to ioyne against one, who being suffered to grow, might become as dangerous to them as to the *Florentines*. To the same enterprise also *Francesco Carmignuola* did perswade them, who was in those dayes accounted a man of warre most excellent, and had bene sometimes a souldier vnder the Duke, yet at that time, rebelled against him. The *Venetians* stood doubtfull, not knowing how much they might trust *Carmignuola*, fearing that the enmitie betwixt the Duke & him was but fained. They thus standing doubtfull, it happened that the Duke procured one of the seruants of *Carmignuola* to poyson his maister: which poyson not being strong inough, killed him not, but brought him to extremitie. This being knowne to the *Venetians*, cleared all suspition: and the *Florentines* following their request, the league was made betwixt them, either partie binding himselfe to make warre at their common charge: and that whatsoever were gotten in *Lombardy* should be the *Venetians*, and whatsoever were possessed in *Romagna*, should be the *Florentines*, and *Carmignuola* to continue General of the league. Then was the war by mean of this league brought into *Lombardy*, and by *Carmignuola* gouerned with so great vertue, that in fewe moneths he had taken many townes, from the Duke: together with the Citie of *Brescia*, the winning whereof (in those dayes, and in those warres) was accounted maruelous. This warre was continued fise yeares and the Citizens become wearie of the Impositions alreadie past, agreed to renew them, and prouided the same might be imposed according to the value of euerie mans wealth. In this Imposition, it fell out, that many mightie Citizens were sore charged. And therefore, before the lawe passed, it became of them misliked. Onely *Giouanni di Medici* openly did commend it, by which commendation, the lawe passed. And because in the execution thereof, euerie mans goods were charged (which the *Florentines* called *Accastare*) the Imposition was called *Catasto*. This law partly bridled the tirannie of the mightier Citizens, being thereby restrained from oppression of their inferiours, and their threatnings and counsels could not hold them silent, as before they might. That Imposition therefore was by the multitude willingly, but by the mighty citizens, verie vnwillingly, receiued. Notwithstanding (as it euer happeneth) that men be neuer satisfied; but hauing the thing they wish for, desire another: so this people not content with this equalitie of Imposition by lawe, required that no respect should be had

Piccinino
reuolted from
the league.

Carmignuola
generall for
the league.

had to time past, but desired to examine how much the great men (according to the *Catasto*) had paid too little, because they would have them to be charged as themselves had before bene; who paying more then they ought, were forced to sell their possessions. This demaund, did more terrifie the great men, then the *Catasto*, therefore they ceased not to find fault; affirming it was most iniust, that the imposition should extend to their moueables, which many times were one day possessed, and the next day lost. And moreouer many men had money so secretly kept, that the *Catasto* could not find it. Adding thereto, that for seruice of the state, they omitted their priuate busines, and therefore ought be the lesse charged. For traouelling in their persons, it was no reason that the citie should imploy both their goods and their industry, and of other men take onely their goods. The others (to whom the *Catasto* contented) did answer that if the goods moueable did varie, the Impositions might also varie, and so that inconuenience was remedied. And for goods concealed or hidden, therof it was not needfull to make accompt, for of such monies as are not occupied to profit, no reason would they should pay. And if they would imploy them, then should they thereby discover them. Moreouer, if they liked no longer to vse their industrie for the Common weale, they might at their pleasures leaue those paines, & that trauell. For the state should find other good Citizens willing to helpe and serue, both with their counsell and substaunce. Also the gouernment carried therewith so many commodities & honors, as the same might suffice them that gouerned, without deteining their impositions. But the grieffe lay not where they alledged. For it greued them that they could not make warre without their owne losse, being to contribute to the charge as others did. As if this way had bene before found, the warre with King *Ladislao* should not haue bene then, nor this warre with the Duke now. Both which warres were made to enrich the Citizens, and not for necessitie. These humors stirred, were appeased by *Giouan de Medici*, declaring that it was not well done, to call againe matters passed, but rather to foresee future euent. And if the Impositions before time were iniust, then ought they to thanke God for that warre, whereby they were made iust, and that this order might serue to reunite, not to deuide the citie: as it would, if passed Impositions were called in question, to make the present leasement: because whosoever is content with a reasonable victorie, doth best, seeing they that be enforced to pay for many pardons, do therby become desperate. With these or like wordes, hee appeased the humours, and the comparing of the old Impositions, with the new. The warre with the Duke yet continued, but shortly after a peace was made at *Ferrara*, by mediation of the Popes Legate. The conditions wherof, were by the Duke at the beginning broken. So that they of the league rooke armes againe, and ioyning battle with the Duke at *Maclouio*, they ouerthrew him. After which ouerthrow, the Duke moued new communication of peace, whereto the *Venetians* and *Florentines* consented. These because they suspected the *Venetians*, and thought they spent much to make others mightie. The other, for that, since the ouerthrow, they perceiued *Carmignuola* to proceede slowly, and therefore feared to repose any trust in him. The peace therefore was concluded the yeare 1428 whereby the *Florentines* reouered the townes lost in *Romagna*, and *Brescia* remained in the hands of the *Venetians*. Besides these, the Duke gaue them *Bergamo* with the country thereto belonging. In this warre the *Florentines* spent three millions and five thousand duckats. But the *Venetians* gained land and force: and they poertie and diuision. The peace thus made abroad, the warre at home began. And the great Citizens not enduring the *Catasto*, nor knowing by what meane to be free from it, deuised to make the lawe to haue more enimies, thereby to haue companions to repress it. Then they declared to the officers of the Imposition, that the lawe

Catasto.

Peace betwixt
the League
& the Duke.

The speech of
Cosimo de
Medici at his
death.

Volterra re-
belled.

Giusto vsur-
ped Volterra.

lawe commaunded them also to seaze the Townes subiect, to see, if among them remained any *Florentines* goods. Thereupon all subiects were commaunded within a certaintime to bring in bills of their goods. Then the inhabitants of *Volterra* sent vnto the Senate to complayne of that matter, insomuch that the officers put xviii. of them in prison. This made the *Volterrani* much offended, yet for the respect they had to their prisoners, they rebelled not. At this time *Giouanni de Medici* fell sicke, and knowing his disease mortall, called vnto him his sonnes *Cosimo* and *Lorenzo*, and sayd vnto them: I thinke now to haue liued so long, as at my birth God and nature had appoynted. I dye content, because I leaue you rich, healthie, and in estate (if you follow my footesteps) to liue in *Florence* honorable, and fauoured of all men: For, there is nothing that maketh me dye so contented, as to remember, that I haue neuer offended any man, but rather (so farre as I could) pleased all men. Sodo I perswade you (if you will liue securely) to take of the State no more then by the lawes, and by men is giuen you, which shall neuer bring with it, either enuie or perill. For that which is woon by violence, not that which is giuen freely, doth make men hated. And you shall find many coueting an other mans, to lose their owne, and before that losse, liue in continuall disquiet of mind. With these rules among so manie enemyes, and contrarieties of opinions, I haue not onely maynteyned, but also encreased my reputation in this cittie. Euen so, if you follow my course, you shall in like sort maynteyne and augment your credit. But when you do otherwise, looke that your end shall be no more fortunate then theirs, who haue ruyned themselues, and vndone their houses. Shortly after these words pronouncd, he tooke leaue of life, and was much lamented by the greatest number of Citizens, for so his excellent vertues deserued. This *Giouanni* was charitable, and accustomed to giue almes not onely to them that asked, but also many times vnasked. He bestowed reliefe on the poore, where need required. He loued euery man, praying the good, and pitying the euill. He neuer desired offices, yet had he them all, he went not at any time to the Pallace vncalled, he loued peace, and shunned warre, he relieved men in aduersitie, and furthered them in prosperitie. He medled not with publique extortion, but encreased the common profit. He was in office courteous, of no great eloquence, but singuler wise. His complexion seemed melancholy, yet was he in cōuersation pleasant and merrie. He died rich in treasure, but more rich of loue, and good report: which inheritance aswell in goods of fortune as of mind, was by *Cosimo* not only preserved, but also enlarged. The *Volterrani* being wearie of imprisonment, promised to condescend to that which was demaunded. They then being deliuered, and returned to *Volterra*, found the time come for the election of new *Priori*. Among whom was chosen one iust man, a base fellow, yet of credit among the multitude, and was in the number of those that had ben prisoners in *Florence*. He being moued with the iniurie offred both in publique and priuate by the *Florentines*, was encouraged by one *Giouanni* a noble man (who also sate in office with him) to stirre the people with the authority of the *Priori* and his owne credit, to take the towne from the *Florentines*, and make himsele Prince thereof. By whose perswasion this *Giusto* (for so he was called) tooke armes, ransacked the towne, imprisoned the Captayne of the *Florentines*, and made himsele by consent of the people, Lord thereof. This new matter happened in *Volterra*, greatly displeased the *Florentines*: Yet hauing lately made peace with the Duke, they imagined a time was come to recouer it. And not omitting oportunitie, they sodeinly sent thither *Rinaldo degli Albizi*, and *Palla Strozzi*, as their Comissaries. *Giusto* in the meane space, supposing the *Florentines* would assault him, prayed ayd of the *Sanesi* and *Lucchesi*. The *Sanesi* denied him, saying they were in league with the *Florentines*.

rentines. And *Pagolo Guinigi* Lord of *Lucca*, to recouer the fauoure of the Florentine people (which in the Dukes warres he feared to haue lost) did not onely refuse to ayde *Giusto*, but also sent his messenger prisoner to *Florence*. These commissaries in the meane space, to come vnlooked for of the *Volterani*, assembled all their men of Armes, and in the neather *Valderno*, and the Prouince of *Pisa*, leauyed many footemen, from whence they marched to *Volterra*. Neyther did *Giusto* for being abandoned of his neighbours, nor the assault of the *Florentines*, abandon himselfe: but trusting to the strength of the Scite, and the greatnes of the Towne, prepared for defence. There was at that time in *Volterra*, one called *Arcolano*, brother to *Giouanni*, who had perswaded *Giusto* to take the gouernment, a man among the Nobilitie of good reputation. He, assembling his friends, declared how God by this accident had supplied the necessitie of their Cittie. For now if they were pleased to take armes, remoue *Giusto* from the Senate, and restore the Cittie to the *Florentines*, they should thereby become chiefe of their Cittie, and continue their auncient priuiledges. These men consenting to the enterprife, went to the Pallace where this Lord *Giusto* remayned: some of them also being left belowe, *Arcolano* with three others went vp, and finding him with some other Cittizens, drew him aside, as though he had to speake with him in some earnest matter, so enterteyning him from chamber to chamber, till he came to the place where the rest of the companie remayned. Yet were they not so suddein, but that *Giusto* drew his sword, and before himselfe was slayne, hurt two of them. Notwithstanding, in the end vnable to resist so manie, was murdered, and cast out of the Pallace. Then all the rest of the conspiracie with *Arcolano* tooke Armes, and gaue the Towne to the Commissaries for the *Florentines*, who were with Souldiers neere at hand. They, without other capitulation, entered the Towne, whereby the *Volterani* made their condition worse then before. For among other things, they dismembred the greater part of the Countrey, and was reduced to *Vicariato*. Thus *Volterra*, as it were at one instant lost, and recouered, no occasion of new warre remayned, had not the ambition of men bene cause thereof. There serued long time the *Florentines* in their warres against the Duke of *Milan*, one called *Nicholo Fortibraccio*, sonne to one of the sisters of *Braccio di Perugia*. He after the peace made, was by the *Florentines* discharged, and at such time as this chance happened at *Volterra* was lodged at *Fucecchio*, whereby the Commissaries in that enterprife employed him and his Souldiers. It was supposed that at such time as *Rinaldo* trauelled with him in that warre, he perswaded *Nicholo* vnder some fayned quarrell to assault the *Lucchesi*, saying, that if he would goe against *Lucca*, he should be made Generall of the iourney. *Volterra* thus surprized, and *Nicholo* returned home to *Fucecchio*, either by perswasion of *Rinaldo*, or of his owne will, in Nouember, the yeare 1429. with 300. horse, and 300. footemen, surprized *Ruoti* and *Compito*, Castles belonging to the *Lucchesi*, and after came into the Countrey, and there made great spoyle. The newes of this enterprife published at *Florence*, many people assembled in diuers places of the Cittie, and the greater number wished that *Lucca* might be assaulted. The great Cittizens that fauoured the enterprife were those of the faction of *Medici*, and with them ioyned *Rinaldo*, thereto perswaded, either because he thought the enterprife profitable to the common-weale, or else for his owne ambition, hoping to haue the honor of the victorie. Those that disfauoured the attempt, were *Nicholo de Vzano*, and his followers. And it seemeth a thing incredible, that so great contrarietie should be in one Cittie, touching the making of a warre. For those Cittizens, and that people, who after tenne yeeres of peace blamed the warre against the Duke *Philippo*, for defence

Pagolo Guinigi Lord of *Lucca*.

Giusto slaine.

Volterra recouered by the *Florentines*.

fence of their libertie : now after so great expences, and so much affliction of the Cittie, withall earnestly desired to make a new warre against *Lucca*, and to vsurpe the libertie of others. On the other side, those that desired the first warre, found fault with this motion; so greatly did the opinions of men alter with time; for the multitude seemeth more readie to take from others, then keepe their owne. Also, men are more moued with hope of winning, then feare of losing: For this feare is not beleued, till it be neere at hand, but that hope, is hoped for, although farre off. The people of *Florence* was full of hope, both by the victories they had obteyned, and by letters sent vnto *Fortebraccio* from the *Rettori* neere to *Lucca*. For the Deputies of *Pescia* and of *Vico* did write, that if they might haue leaue to receiue those Castles, they would be deliuered to them, and by that meanes all the Countrey of *Lucca* should be gayned. Besides these good newes, the Lord of *Lucca* sent his Embassador to *Florence*, to complayne of the spoyles committed by *Nicholo*, desiring the *Senate*, not to moue warre against their neighbours, and a Citie that had euer been friend to the *Florentines*. This Embassadot was called *Iacopo Viuari*. He not long before had been kept prisoner with *Pagolo* for a conspiracie against him: whereof although he were guiltie, yet was his life saued. And *Pagolo* supposing that *Iacopo* had likewise forgotten the iniurie, put him in trust. But *Iacopo* remembering more the perill he had passed, then the benefite he receiued, being arriued in *Florence*, secretly encouraged the Cittizens to proceed in the enterprize: which encouragement, ioyned to other hope, was the cause that the *Senate* assembled a Councell, wherein were foure hundred ninetie eight Cittizens, before whome, by the principall men of the Cittie, the matter was debated. Among the chiefe that perswaded the iourney (as is before sayd.) was *Rinaldo*, who alleadged the profite that might ensue of victorie. Hee also declared the occasion of the enterprize, and how the *Lucchesi* were abandoned by the *Venetians* and the Duke. And that the Pope (being busied in the affayres of the Kingdome) could not succour them. Thereto he remembred how easie it was to winne the Cittie, being in subiection to one Cittizen, whereby it had lost that naturall strength and auntient care to defend the libertie. So that, either by meane of the people, who studied to driue out the Tyrant, or the Tyrants feare of them, the successe was not to be doubted. Hee likewise layd before them the iniuries which that Lord had done to our Common-wealth, and his euill disposition towards the same: And how dangerous a thing it were if the Pope or the Duke should make warre, concluding, that no enterprize attempted by the people of *Florence*, was euer more easie or more iust. Against this perswasion, *Nicholo de Vzano* sayde, that *Florence* did neuer take in hand any thing more vniust, nor more perilous, nor whereof more daunger might followe. First, they should goe about to offend a Cittie affectionate to the *Guelfi*, and such a one as had euer bene friend to the people of *Florence*, and had with perill to it selfe many times receiued the *Guelfi*, when they durst not abide in their owne Countrey. And by the memoriall of our proceedings, it cannot be found, that *Lucca* being free, did euer offend *Florence*: but the offence at any time done, was committed by those that vsurped, as heretofore by *Castruccio*, and now by this man, which defaults cannot be imputed to the Cittie, but the Tyrants. And therefore if the warre might be made vpon the Tyrant, and not the Cittie, the displeasure should be the lesse. But because that could not be, he might not consent that a Cittie, beforetime a friend, should be spoyled of her substance. Yet sith at this day, men liue as though of right

A warre against *Lucca* perswaded by *Ri. de Albizi*.

The perswasion of *Ni. de Vzano* to the contrary.

or wrong none account is to be made, hee would leaue to speake thereof, and thinke onely vpon the profit of the Cittie. His opinion therefore was, that those things might be called profitable, which would not lightlie procure losse. Wherefore he knewe not how any man could call that enterprife profitable, where the losse was certaine, and the gayne doubtfull. The certaine losses were the charges it carried with it, which seemed so great, as would terrifie any peaceable Cittie, much more ours, hauing bene by long warres wearied. The profit of the enterprife, was the possession of *Lucca*, which hee confessed to be great; Yet were they to consider the lets thereof: and they seemed to him so great, as hee thought the successe impossible. Neither could hee beleue that the *Venetians* and *Philippo* were therewith pleased: Because the *Venetians* consent, was onely to seeme thankfull, hauing lately with the *Florentines* woon a great Dominion. The other would be glad, that in a new warre wee shoulde spende more treasure: so as worne, and wearyed on euerie side, wee might after be the more easily annoyed. Also, there would not want meanes for him, euen in the best hope of victorie, to succour the *Lucchesi*, eyther covertly with money, or with calsing of bands, and sending souldiers as aduenturers to ayde them. Hee therefore perswaded that the enterprife might stay, and suffer them liue with the Tyrant, whereby they shoulde haue the more enemyes. For there was no way so apt to subdue the Cittie, as to suffer it continue vnder a Tyrant, and be by him assaulted or weakened. This matter wisely handled, the Cittie would be brought in termes, that the Tyrant not able to hold it, nor knowing how to gouerne it selfe, should of force fall in our bozome. Neuerthelesse, seeing his words were not heard, hee would prognosticate that they would make a warre, wherein much should be spent, many hazards made, and in stead of surprizing *Lucca*, deliuer it from the Tyrant, and procure that Cittie which before was subiect and weake, to become a towne free, and full of displeasure: yea with time, an obstacle to the honour of the *Florentine* common-weale. This enterprife thus perswaded, and disswaded, they begun (as the custome is) to practise with men secretly for the winning of their good wills, so as onely 98. persons did speake against it. Then the resolution set downe, and the Tenne elected for gouernment of the warre, they entertheyned souldiers both on horsebacke and foote. *Astore Gianni*, and *Rinaldo degli Albizi* were appointed Generalles, and they agreed, that *Micholo Fortibraccio* should haue the gouernment of the Townes, if the enterprife tooke successe. The Generalles with the Armyes being arriued within the territorie of *Lucca*, diuided their forces. *Astore* went into the playne, towards *Ca Maggiore* and *Pietrasanta*: And *Rinaldo*, towards the Mountaynes, thinking, that the Countrey being spoyled, the Cittie would be easily taken. The attempt of these men prooued vnfortunate, not because they surprized no Townes, but for the dishonor committed by one of them in the seruice: For true it is, that *Astor Gianni* gaue great occasions of his owne dishonour. Neere vnto *Pietrasanta*, there is a Vale called *Serauezza*, riche, and full of inhabitants, who hearing the Generall was come, presented themselues: desiring him to receiue them for faithfull seruants to the people of *Florence*. *Astor* seemed to accept the offer, and after caused his Souldiers to possesse all the passages, and strong places of the Vale: then commaunding all the inhabitants to assemble in the principall Church, and there willed his men to take them prisoners, sack them, and spoyle all the Countrey most cruelly: not sparing the sacred places, but without respecte, abusing aswell Virgins, as married women. The manner of these

The warre of
Lucca resol-
ued.

cruelty of the
Florentine
Generall.

The com-
plaint of the
Sarauzeſi.

theſe proceedings being knowne in *Florence*, offended not onely the Magiſtrates, but the whole Cittie alſo. Some fewe of the *Sarauzeſi*, who eſcaped the hands of the Generall, ran to *Florence*, telling in euery ſtreete, and to euery man their miſeries, and were by many Citizens encouraged, either becauſe they deſired to haue the Generall puniſhed, thinking him indeed an euill man, or elſe for that they knewe him not to fauour their faction. So that the *Sarauzeſi* were brought before the tenne, where one of them ſtepped forth, and ſpake to this effect. Sure we are (my good Lords) that our words ſhould finde beliefe, and compaſſion, if your Lordſhips did know in what ſort your Generall hath vſed our Countrey, and how we haue bene by him handled. Our *Vale* (as we hope your memorials do make mention) did alwayes loue the faction *Guelfa*, and hath bene many times a faithfull receiptacle for your Citizens, when flying perſecution of the *Ghibilini*, they came thither. Our auncethors, and we alſo, haue euer adored the name of this noble common weale, being the head and chiefe of that ſecte. So long as the *Luccheſi* were *Guelfi*, we willingly obeyed their gouernment, but ſince they ſubmitted themſelues to a Tyrant, (who hath abandoned his old friends, and followed the *Ghibilini*) rather by compulſion, then voluntarily, we haue obeyed him. And God knoweth, how often we haue prayed for occaſion, whereby to ſhewe our zeale to the auncient faction. But alas how blind are men in their deſires? that which we wiſhed for our helpe, is now become our harme. For ſo ſoone as we heard your Generall marched towards vs, we went, not as enemyes to encounter him, but (as our auncethors were wont) to yeeld into his hand our Countrey and fortunes: hoping that in him, although there were not the mind of a *Florentine*, yet we ſhould finde him a man. We beſeech your Lordſhip to pardon vs, for our extremitie is ſo much, as more may not be indured, which is the cauſe we make bold to ſpeake thus plainely. This your Generall hath not of a man more then his preſence, nor of a *Florentine* any thing ſaue the name: but may be called a mortall plague, a cruell beaſt, and as horrible a monſter, as by any wrighter can be deſcribed. For he hauing aſſembled vs in our Temple, vnder pretext to talke with vs, hath made vs his priſoners: ſpoyling the whole countrey, burning the houſes, robbing the inhabitants, ſacking their goods, beating and murdering the men, forcing the Virgins, yea, pulling them from the hands of their Mothers, made them the pleaſures of his ſouldiers. If for any iniury done to the people of *Florence* or him, we had deſerued ſo great a puniſhment, or if we had armed our ſelues againſt him, and bene taken, then ſhould we haue had leſſe cauſe to complayne, yea, we would rather haue accuſed our ſelues, confeſſing, that eyther for iniurie or pride, we had ſo merited to be handled. But being diarmed, and freely offering our ſelues, then to rob vs, and with ſo great deſpight and ignomie to ſpoyle vs, we thinke it ſtrange, and are inforced before your Lordſhips to lay downe our grieſe. And albeit we might fill all *Lombardy* with offence, and with reproch of this Citie, publiſh our iniuries through all *Italy*, yet would we not, leſt thereby to blemiſh ſo honeſt, ſo honorable, and ſo compaſſionate a common weale, with the dihoneſtie and crueltie of one wicked Citizen, whoſe auarice before our ruine, was partly knowne vnto vs. And wee intended to ſtrayne our ſelues to ſatiſfie his greedie mind, which hath neither meaſure nor bottom. But ſith our gifts come too late, we thinke good to reſort to your Lordſhip, beſeeching the ſame to relieue the miſfortune of your ſubiects, to the end, that other men may not be afraid to yeeld them ſelues to your deuotion. If our infinite miſeries cannot moue you, yet let the feare of Gods ire perſwade you, who hath ſene the Churches ſacked and burnt,

burnt, and our people betrayed in them. These words pronounced, they presently fell downe prostrate vpon the ground, weeping, and desiring their Lordships, that their goods and countrey might be restored, and that (though the womens honors could not be recouered) yet the Wiues might be deliuered to their Husbands, and the Children to their Fathers. This heauie case being before reported, and now by the lively voyce of those afflicted men confirmed, did much moue the Magistrates: and without delay, they reuoked *Astore*, who after was condemned, and admonished. Then was there Inquisition made for the goods of the *Serauezesi*, and so much as could be found, was restored. For the rest, they were in time diuers wayes satisfied. *Rinaldo de gli Albizi*, was likewise defamed, for hauing made the warre, not for the profit of the people of *Florence*, but his owne. Hee was also charged that so soone as hee became Generall, the desire of surprizing *Lucca* was forgotten, because hee sought no further then to spoyle the countrey, fill his pastures with cattle, and furnish his houses with the goods of others. Moreouer, that his owne share of the bootie contented him not, but hee also bought the priuate spoyles of his souldiers. So that of a Generall, hee was become a Merchaunt. These slaunders come to his owne hearing, moued his honest and honorable mind more, then they ought to haue done. In so much, as hee became therewith so amazed, that taking offence against the Magistrates and Citizens, without delay or leaue taken, hee returned to *Florence*, and presenting himselfe to the Tenne, sayd: He knew well, how great difficultie and perill there was in seruing a loose people, and a Cittie diuided. For the one is credulous of euery rumor, the other, punisheth no euill doings, rewardeth not the good, and blameth the indifferent; so that no man commendeth him that is victorious: For as much, as his fellowes for enuie, and his foes for hatred, will persecute him. Notwithstanding, himselfe had neuer for feate of vnderferued blame, omitted to performe an action that promised a certaine good to his countrey. But true it was, that the dishonestie of the present slaunders had oppressed his patience, and made him change nature. Wherefore hee besought the Magistrates, to be from thence-foorth more readie to defend their Citizens, to the end, they might be likewise more readie to labour for their countrey. And although that in *Florence* no triumph was graunted, yet might they, at the leaste defende them from ignominious reproche, and remember that they them selues were also Citizens of the same towne, and that to them selues etierie houre the like might happen: whereby they shoulde vnderstand howe great grieffe false slaunders might breede in the mindes of men of integritie. The Tenne as time would serue, laboured to appease him, and committed the care thereof to *Neri di Gino*, and to *Alamiano Saluiati*: who leauing to spoyle the countrey of *Lucca*, with their Campe, approached the Towne. And because the season was colde, they stayed at *Campauole*. Where it seemed to the Generall that time was lost: and desirous to besiege the Towne, by reason of the euill weather, the Souldiers would not thereto consent. Notwithstanding, that the Tenne did sollicite them to the siege, and would accept none excuse at all. At that time, there was in *Florence* an Architector, called *Filippo Brunellesco*, of whose handie worke our Cittie is full: In so much, that after death, hee deserued to haue his Image of Marble, erected in the chiefe Church of *Florence*, with Letters, to testifie hys greate vertue. This man declared, howe *Lucca*, considering the seite of the Cittie, and the passage of the Riuer *Serchio*, mighte bee drowned.

Astore condemned and Risslandred.

The speech of Ri. in his purgation.

Filippo Brunellesco.

And perswaded them (so farre as the tenne gaue commission) that this experiment should be tried, yet thereof followed nothing, but disorder to our camp, and suretie of the *Lucchesi*: for the *Lucchesi* aduanced their land, and then in the night brake the sluice of that ditch whereby the water was conducted: so that the ground towards *Lucca* being mounted, the water could not enter, and the ditch whereby the water should passe being broken, caused the riuer to reuert towards the plaine, by meane whereof the Campe was forced to remoue, and could not approach the towne. This enterprize, by meanes aforesaid preuented, the tenne newly elected, sent *Giouanni Guicciardini* for their Generall. He, with all speede possible, beleaged the Cittie. The Lord thereof, finding himselfe enuironed with enemies, and encouraged by *Antonio del Rosso* (who there remained as Embassador for the *Sanesi*) sent vnto the Duke of *Milan Saluestro Trenta*, and *Lodouico Bonuifi*. They in the behalfe of their Lord, desired the Dukes aide, but finding him cold, secretly desired him to graunt them souldiers, and in recompence thereof, they promised to deliuer into his hands their Lord, with the possession of their Cittie: Assuring him, that if hee did not accept this offer, their Lord would giue the Towne to the *Florentines*, who with great promises, required to haue it at his hand. The feare which the Duke conceaued thereof, caused him to lay aside all respects: and gaue order, that the Earle *Francesco Sforza*, his chiefe Captaine, should openly aske him leaue to make a iourney to the Kingdome of *Napoli*. Which being obtained, he with his forces, went vnto *Lucca*, although that he knewe the practise was mistrusted, and that the *Florentines* had sent to the Earle *Boccacino Alamanni* their friend, to preuent it. The Earle *Francesco* being arriued at *Lucca*, the *Florentines* retired their Campe to *Librafatta*, and the Earle presently besieged *Pescia*, where *Pagolo da Diacetto* was Gouvernor: who being rather counsellled by feare, then any other passion, fled vnto *Pistoia*. And if that towne had not bene by *Giouanni Malanolti* defended, it had bene presently lost. The Earle then after one assault retired thence, and surprized *Borgo a Buggiano*, and burned *Stiliano*, a Castell neere thereunto. The *Florentines* seeing these ruines, resorted vnto those helpes which oftentimes had before saued them: well knowing, that against mercinarie souldiers, when force preuaileth not, corruption may: and therefore proffered vnto the Earle certaine money, to the end he should not onely depart, but also deliuer the towne into their hands. The Earle supposing that more money could not be had of the *Lucchesi*, was contented to take of those that could giue it. Wherefore he concluded with the *Florentines*, not to deliuer them *Lucca*, (because with his honestie he could not so do) but so soone as he should receiue fiftiethousand duckets, he would abandon the enterprize. This bargaine being made, to the end the people of *Lucca* might excuse him to the Duke, he practised with them to driue out their Lord. At that time (as is before said) *Antonio Rosso* Embassador of *Siena* was at *Lucca*. He with the authoritie of the Earle, practised with the Citizens the destruction of *Pagolo*. The chiefe of this conspiracie were *Piero Cennanni*, and *Giouanni da Chiuizano*. The Earle was lodged without the towne by the Riuer *Scirchio*, and with him *Lanzilao* the sonne of *Pagolo*. The conspirators being in number fortie, all armed, went vnto *Pagolo*, who seeing them, demanded the cause of their comming. To whome *Piero Cennanni* answered, that they had bene gouerned by him till their enemies besieged them with sword and famine, and therefore they were now determined from that time forward, to gouernethemselues. Therewith they required the keyes of the Citie, and the treasure. *Pagolo* answered, that the treasure was consumed, but the keyes and himselfe also were at their deuotion. Then he desired thē, that as his gouernmēt was begun and continued

The Lucchesi
pray aide of
the Duke of
Milan.

Francesco
Sforza sent to
relieue Lucca.

Pagolo Lord
of Lucca de-
posed.

continued without blood, so without blood, by their fauours, it might be ended. *Pagolo* and his sonne, were by the Earle *Francesco* brought to the Duke, and died in prison. The departure of the Earle, deliuered *Lucca* from the tyrant, & the *Florentines* frō feare of his souldiers. So as then, the one prepared to defend, & the other returned to offend, electing the Earle of *Vrbino* to be their Generall: who againe straightly besieging the citie, enforced the *Lucchesi* to resort anew vnto the Duke, who (vnder the same colour that hee had sent the Earle) did now imploy in their aide *Nicholo Piccinino*. He, being readie to enter into *Lucca*, was encountred vpon the Riuer of *Serchio*, and in the passage thereof, our men receiued the ouerthrow, and the Generall with a fewe of our souldiers saued themselues at *Pisa*. This misfortune greued the whole citie, yet because the enterprize was taken in hand by generall consent, the people not knowing whom to blame, flandered onely them that were officers of the warre, sith they could not accuse those that were the deuisers therof. Then they reuiued the former fault laid vpon *Rinaldo*, but aboue al others, they charged *Giouanni Guicciardini*, accusing him for not hauing ended the warre after the departure of the Earle *Francesco*: saying that he had bene corrupted with mony, whereof he had sent part to his own house, and the rest he had carried with him & consumed. These rumours, and these accusations, proceeded so farre, that the Captaine of the people moued with publike voices, and also by the contrary partie prouoked, sent for him. *Giouanni* full of offence, appeared: wherupon his kinsfolkes for their owne honour, laboured the matter so earnestly, that the Captain did not proceed. The *Lucchesi* after the victorie, did not onelie recouer their owne townes, but also surprized all others belonging to *Pisa*, except *Bientia*, *Calcinava*, *Liorno*, & *Librafatta*. And had not a conspiracie bene discovered in *Pisa*, the citie it selfe should haue bene lost. The *Florentines* repairing their forces, made *Michelletto* their Generall, who had bene trained vp by *Sforza*. On the contrarie side, the Duke followed the victorie (and the rather to molest the *Florentines*) procured that the *Genouesi*, *Sanesi*, and the Lord of *Piombino*, ioyned in league for the defence of *Lucca*, and that *Nicholo Piccinino* should be entertained for their General, which was the cause that the practise was laid open. Therupon the *Venetians* and *Florentines* renewed their league, and the warre began to be openly made both in *Lombardy* and *Toscana*. In either of which Countries, with diuerse fortune, diuerse conflicts followed. So that either side wearie, a peace was concluded, in the yeare 1343. whereby the *Florentines*, *Lucchesi*, and *Sanesi*, who had surprized the Castles one of the others in the warre, left them all, and euerie man repossessed his owne. During the time that this warre continued, the euill disposition of factious men within the citie, beganne to worke, and *Cosimo de Medici*, after the death of *Giouanni* his father, gouerned all things concerning the Common wealth, with more care of the publike profit, and more liberalitie towards his friends, then was by his father vsed. In so much, as those that reioyced at the death of *Giouanni*, seeing the vertue of *Cosimo*, became sorie. This *Cosimo* was a man of excellent wisdom, of presence graue and gracious, greatly liberall, curteous, and such a one as neuer attempted any thing either against any faction or the state, but sought by all meanes to pleasure euerie man, and with his liberalitie to gaine the good wil of many Citizens. So that his good deserts defaced those that gouerned, & brought himself to beleue; that he might by that meanes liue at *Florence*, in sufficient strength and securitie. And if the ambition of his aduersaries should moue any extraordinarie occasion to the contrarie, hee hoped both by armes and fauoure of friendes to oppresse them. The greatest instruments to worke his greatnesse, were *Auerardo de Medici*, & *Puccio Pucci*. Of them *Auerardo* with courage, and *Puccio* with wisdome, procured him great reputation. For the counsell and wisdome of *Puccio*, was so well knowne to euerie man,

The Florentines defeated

Peace betweene the Florentines, and Lucchesi.

man, that the faction of *Cosimo* was called not by his owne name, but by the name of *Puccio*. The citie notwithstanding thus diuided, the enterprife of *Lucca* proceeded, whereby the humours of the factions, were rather encreased then extinguished. And although the faction of *Cosimo* chiefly counselled the warre, yet many of the contrarie part were appointed officers therein, as mē most reputed in the state: which *Auerardo* and others not being able to remedie, sought by all industrie and practise to flander them: and if any losse happened (as many did) they imputed the same not to fortune or force of the enemy, but want of wisdom in the officers. This was the cause that the offences of *Astor Gianni* were esteemed so great. This made *Rinaldo delli Albizi* offended, and without lycence to depart from his charge. This was the occasion that the deliuerie of *Giuanni Guicciardini* was required at the hand of the Captaine of the people. And heereof proceeded all blames that had bene imputed to the Magistrates and ministers of the warre. For the true flanders were encreased, and the vntue were inuented: and both the true, and not true, were of the people that loued them, not beleued. These matters and manner of proceeding extraordinarie, was well knowne to *Nicholo di Vzano*, and others of his faction, who had many times thought vpon remedie, but found no meanes how to deale therein: Because it seemed to them, that the suffering thereof was dangerous, and forcibly to helpe it, was not easie. *Nicholo di Vzano*, was the first vnto whom this extraordinary way displeased. Thus the warres continuing without the citie, and these disorders within: *Nicholo Barbadori*, desirous to bring *Nicholo di Vzano* to consent to the oppression of *Cosimo*, went vnto his house, where he found him sadly set in his Closet, and there with the best reasons he could, perswaded him to ioyne with *Rinaldo* to driue *Cosimo* out of the Citie. Vnto whome *Nicholo di Vzano* answered, as followeth. I thinke it were better for thy house and our Commonweale, that all the rest, whose opiniō thou herein followest, had their beards (as men saie) rather of siluer, then gold, as thou hast. For then, their counsels proceeding from heads graie, grounded in experiēce, would be more aduised, & more profitable. It seemeth to me, that those which desire to banish *Cosimo* frō *Florence*, had neede first of all to measure their forces, with his. This our side, you haue called by the name of Nobilitie: and the contrarie part, you haue termed the plebeial partie. If the truth answered to these names, in euerie accident, the victorie would proue doubtfull, and we haue more cause to feare then to hope, moued with the example of the auncient Nobilitie of this citie, which hath ben by this plebeiall sort heretofore oppressed. But the greatest cause of our feare is, that our side is dismembred, & our aduersaries continue whole and entyre. First you must consider, that *Neri di Gino* and *Nerone de Nigi* (two of our principall Citizens) be not, as you know, more friends to vs, then to them. There be also many families, among themselues diuided. For diuerse through enuie of their brethrē or their kinsmen, do disfaue vs, & faue thē. I wil resite vnto you the names of some few, the rest you may the more easly remember with your self. Of the house of *Guicciardini*, and amōg the sonnes of *Luigi*, *Piero* is enemy to *Giuanni*, & fauoureth our aduersaries. *Tomazo* & *Nicholo Soderini*, for the hate they haue to *Francesco* their vncle, are openly protested our enemies. So that, if we consider well what they are, & what we our selues be, I know not for what reasō we shuld cal our or their partie more noble. And if it be, that we cal their part plebeial, bicause they are by the multitude most followed, their state therein is the better, & ours the worse. For whēsoeuer we shal come to arms, we cānot resist thē. Also if we stād on our dignities, they haue bin giuē to vs by the state, & by vertue thereof, we haue cōtinued thē these 50. yeres. Yet whēsoeuer we shal come to prooffe, our weaknes wil appear, & we shal lose our authority. If you haply say, that the iust occasiō which moueth vs to this enterprife,

shall

Perwasion of
Barbadori to
Nicholo Vza-
no against
Cosimo di
Medici.
Answer of
Nicholo Vza-
no to Barba-
dori.

shall encrease our credit, and diminish theirs? Thereto I answer, that it behooueth this iust quarrel of ours to be knowne, & beleued of others, as wel as of our selues: which falleth out cleane contrarie, for the occasion alledged, is altogether builded vpon the suspition we haue, that he goeth about to make himselfe Prince of this citie. This is the mistrust we haue, which others haue not, but they rather accuse vs of that, we accuse him. The matters which make *Cosimo* suspected, are that he employeth his mony to serue euerie occasion, not onely to priuate vses, but also to the publicke affaires: and that as well to the *Florentines*, as the Captaines and Leaders. The cause why he doth fauoure this, and that Cittizen, hauing need of authoritie, is for that his credit with the multitude, hath aduanced this and that friend, to great honours. Therefore it behooueth you to alledge the reasons why hee should be expelled. Because he is charitable, friendly, liberall, and loued of all men? And now tel me I pray you, what lawe inhibiteth, blameth, or condemneth men for their charitie, their liberalitie, and their loue? And albeit these be meanes for him to aspire, yet are they not so taken, neither are wee of credite inough to make them so to be thought. For our proceedings haue wrought our discredit, and our cittie (naturally disposed to diuision, and liuing alwaies in corruption) cannot giue eare to such accusations. But admit you could expulse him, which (hauing a *Senate* for the purpose may easily come to passe): yet how can ye deuise, that he hauing in the citie so many friends studying for his reurne, should not be retoked? This I think impossible, because his friends being many, and he (hauing loue vniuersal) you cannot assure him. The more of his chiefe friends you labour to banish, the more enemies you winne to your selues. So that within short space he shall be returned, and you haue gained thus much, that a good man he was banished, and returned an euil man: because his nature shall be corrupted by those, that will labour his reuocation. To whom being made beholding, he may not oppose himselfe, and if you would put him to death, by order of Magistrates, you could neuer procure it: because his riches, and our corruptible nature, would assuredly saue him. Yet admit he were dead, or banished neuer to returne? I see not what is gotten to our Common weale: for though it be thereby deliuered of *Cosimo*, it becommeth subiect to *Rinaldo*, and I am one of those, who wish, that no Citizen should surpasse an other in power and authoritie. But if any of these two should preuaile, I know not for what cause I ought to loue *Rinaldo* more then *Cosimo*. Neither will I say more, then I pray God to defend, that any Citizen should aspire to be Prince of this citie. And though our sinnes haue merited such a plague, yet God forbid we should obey him. Do not therefore perswade an enterprise, which in euerie respect is dangerous, nor thinke that you (accompanied with a fewe) can withstand the will of many. For all these Citizens partly through ignorance, and partly of their lewdnesse, be prepared to make sale of the Common weale: and fortune is so friendly vnto them, as they haue already founde a chapman. Be therefore pleased to follow my counsell: liue modestly, and so shall you find cause, as well to suspect some of our side for enemies to the libertie, as those of the contrarie: and when any troubles happen being neutrall, you shall be to both acceptable. So shall you helpe your selfe, and not hinder your country. These words did somewhat appease the minde of *Barbadoro*: and the citie continued quiet, during the war of *Lucca*. But the peace made, and *Nicholo da Vzano* dead, the cittie remained both without warre and order. By meane whereof; euill humours grew, and *Rinaldo* thincking himselfe to be onely Prince, ceased not to entreate, and perswade all those Citizens (whom he thought likely to be *Gonfalonieri*) to arme themselves for the defence of their country, against that man, who through the lewdnesse of a few, & the ignorance of many, should of necessitie bring the same to seruitude. This course holden
by

by *Rinaldo*, and the contrarie laboured by the aduerse part, filled the citie with suspicion: and at the election of euerie Magistrate, the one against the other partie, publickly murmured, & at the election of the *Senators*, all the citie was in open uproare. Euerie matter brought before the Magistrates (how litle soeuer it were) occasioned a mutinie. All secret matters were laide open; good and euill, were fauoured & disfauoured: good men, and euill men, equally molested; and no Magistrate could execute his office. *Florence* remaining in this confusion, and *Rinaldo* labouring to oppresse the greatnesse of *Cosimo*: knowing that *Barnardo Guadagni*, was likely to be elected *Gonfaloniere*, paid his debts, to the end, that such mony as he owed to the state, should not be a meane, to keepe him from that dignitie. The *Senators* being chosen, (and fortune fauouring our discords:) it came to passe, that *Barnardo* was chosen *Gonfaloniere*, to sit in that office, during the two moneths of September and October. Him presently *Rinaldo* visited, and told him how greatly the Nobilitie reioyced for his being aspired to that honour, which for his vertue he deserued: and therefore required him, so to behaue himselfe in the office, that their reioycing should not be in vaine. Then he laid before him, the perils which proceeded of faction, & that there was no other remedie to vnite the citie, but the oppression of *Cosimo*: because hee, with the loue which his exceeding riches had gained him, held others downe, and aspired to make himselfe Prince. It were therefore conuenient, for remedie of so great a mischief, that the people should be assembled in the Market place: And by vertue of the *Gonfaloniere* the citie restored to libertie. He moreouer declared, how *Saluestro de Medici*, could without iustice bridle the greatnesse of the *Guelfi*, vnto whome by the bloud of their auncestors lost in that quarrell, the gouernment to them apperteined. And if he iniustly could do that against so many, then might *Barnardo* with iustice do the same, against one alone. Then he perswaded him not to feare any man, because his friends would be readie armed to assisist him. Of the multitude which so greatly honoured *Cosimo*, none account was to be made, for *Cosimo* should haue by their fauours none other good, then had *Georgio Scali*. Neither should he feare his riches, for they being come to the hands of the *Senators*, should be theirs. And in conclusion said, that this action should make the state vnited, and him famous. To these perswasions, *Barnardo* briefly answered; how he thought necessary to do according to that counsel. And bicause the time was to be imploied rather in actiō, then words, he would presently prepare forces, to be readie, so soone as his companions could be perswaded to the enterprise. *Barnardo* being placed in office, and hauing woon his companions, & counselled with *Rinaldo*, sent for *Cosimo*: who, albeit he were otherwise aduised, did appeare, trusting rather to his owne innocencie, then the mercie of the *Senators*. So soone as *Cosimo* was entered the Pallace, *Rinaldo* with many others armed, came to the Market place, and there met with the rest of that faction. Then the *Senators* caused the people to be called, and made a *Balia* of two hundreth men, to reforme the state of the citie: which *Balia*, with such speed as possibly they could, consulted vpon the reformation, and also of the life and death of *Cosimo*. Many perswaded he should be banished, others would haue him put to death, and many also said nothing, either for the compafsion they tooke of the man, or for the fear of themselves. This diuersitie of opinions, did procure that nothing was concluded. In a Tower of the Pallace called *Albergettino*, *Cosimo* was kept prisoner vnder the guard of *Federigo Malanolti*. From which place, *Cosimo* hearing them talke, and perceiuing the noyse of armed men in the Market place, together with the often ringing of the Bell to the *Balia*, he stood in great suspicion of his life: and feared also, least his particuler enemies would extraordinaryly murther him. For these respects, during the space of foure dayes, he would eate nothing, but one litle peece of bread: which *Federigo* perceiuing,

Cosimo di
Medici cited
& committed.

perceiuing,saide vnto him. *Cosimo*, I see thou fearest to be poysoned, and therefore would first famish thy selfe. But thou doest me great dishonor, to thinke that I wold put my hand to so wicked a deede. I surely beleue, that thou art not to die for this matter, hauing so good friends both within & without the Pallace. But if it be ment, that thy life shall be taken from thee, be sure, they should finde other ministers then me, to performe that deed. For I will not imbrew my hands in the bloud of any man, and chiefly in thine, who neuer offended me. Be therefore of good cheare, eat thy meate, and preferue thy life to the comfort of thy friends and country, and because thou shalt mistrust the lesse, I my selfe will eat part of those meates which be set before thee. These words comforted *Cosimo* exceedingly, and with teares in his eyes, he embraced and kissed *Federigo*; thanking him most heartily for his friendly and pitious dealing: offering to be thankfull whensoever occasion should be presented. Thus *Cosimo* somewhat comforted, and his cause disputed among the Citizens: It happened, that *Federigo* brought with him to supper a friend of the *Gonfaloneries*, called *Farganaccio*, a man verie wittie, and pleasantly disposed. The supper being almost ended, *Cosimo* hoping to helpe himselfe by this mans presence (for he was with him well acquainted) made signes to *Federigo* to go aside: who knowing the occasion, fained to go for something that wanted. And leauing them alone, *Cosimo* after a fewe friendly words spoken to *Farganaccio*, gaue him a token, and sent him to the Hospital of *Santa Maria Nuova*, for a thousand and one hundreth crownes: wherof one hundreth to be kept to his owne vse, the other to be liuered to the *Gonfaloniere*. *Farganaccio* performed his Commision, the mony was payde: and by vertue thereof, *Barnardo* became more fauourable. So as, then it was ordered, that *Cosimo* should be onely confined to *Padoa*, contrary to the expectation of *Rinaldo*, that desired his life. *Auc-rardo* & many others of the house of *Medici* were also banished; and with them *Puccio*, and *Giouanni Pucci*. Also to terrifie others that were offended with the exile of *Cosimo*, they gaue Commision of *Balia*, to the Eight of the Guard, and the Captaine of the people. After which ordertaken, *Cosimo* vpon the third of October, in the yeare 1433. came before the *Senators*, who pronounced his banishment, and perswaded him to obey the same: Or if he would refuse, more seueritie would be vsed, both vnto his person and goods. *Cosimo* with chearfull countenance receiued his confinement, protesting that whither so euer the *Senate* should please to send him, hee was most willing to obey. Humbly desiring, that as they had preserved his life, so it might please them to defend him: for he was giuen to vnderstand of many, that watched in the Market place to haue his bloud. He said moreouer, that himselfe and his substance should be euer at the commandement of the citie, the people, and their Lordships. The *Gonfaloniere* did comfort him, and kept him in the Pallace till night was come. There he supped, & after brought him to his house: which done, caused him to be accompanied with many armed men, & by them was conducted to the confines. Wheresoeuer *Cosimo* passed, he was honourably receiued, and by the *Venetians* publicly visited, not as banished, but as a man in great authoritie. *Florence* thus deprived of so worthie a Citizen, so vniuersally loued, euerie man was dismayed, and as wel they that had the victorie, as those that were victored, did feare. *Rinaldo* mistrusting future misadventure, to serue his owne turne and his friends, assembled many Citizens, and said to them, that he now saw their ruine at hand, because they were with faire words, teares, & the enemies mony vanquished: forgetting that shortly themselves should be forced to entreate and weepe, when their sutes shall not be heard, and of their teares no man would take compassion. Also touching the monies receiued, the same must be repaid, with torments, death, & exile, in stead of vsurie. Moreouer, that it had bin better for themselves to be dead, then suffer *Cosimo* to passe with
life;

*Cosimo di
Medici bani-
shed.*

life; and leaue his friends in *Florence*. Because great personages should either not be touched, or being, must be made sure from taking reuenge. No other remedie therefore remained, but to fortifie themselues within the citie: to the end, that the enemies taking knowledge thereof (as easily they will) we may resist them with armes, sith by order and lawe we could not auoyd them. The remedie of all this was (that which long before had bene remembred); to recouer the great men, restoring & giuing to them all the honors of the citie, making our selues strong with that faction: because the aduersaries were strengthened by the multitude. By this means their partie should be knowne of how great force, vertue, courage, and credite it were. Alledging also, that if this last and truest refuge were not put in prooffe, he sawe not by what other meane, the state might be among so many enemies preserued. And therefore he beheld at hand, a destruction of them and their Citie. To answer this speech, *Mariotto Baldouineti* one of the company opposed himselfe, and said; that the pride and insupportable nature of the Nobilitie was such, that it were no wisdome to submit themselues to a tyrannie certain, to eschue the doubtfull perils of the multitude. *Rinaldo* seeing his counsell not heard, lamented the misfortune of himselfe and his friends, imputing euerie thing rather to the heauens that so would haue it, then to the ignorance and blindness of men. The matter thus depending, without any necessarie prouision made, a letter was found, written by *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* to *Cosimo*, wherein he aduertised the disposition of the citie towards him, and wished him to moue some warre, making *Nero di Gino* his friend. For hee thought the Cittie had much need of mony, and no way knowne that would supplie that want. By occasion wherof, the desire of his return, would be greatly reuiued in the Citizens minds. And if *Neri* should fall from *Rinaldo*, then that side would become so weak, as could not defend it selfe. This letter come to the handes of the Magistrates, was the cause that *Agnolo* was taken, and sent to exile. By this example, some part of that humour which fauoured *Cosimo*, was cooled. The yeare of *Cosimo* his banishment expired, & the end of August at hand, in the yere 1430. *Nicholo di Cocco* was chosen *Gonfaloniere* for the two moneths next following, and with him eight *Senators*, all friends to *Cosimo*. So as, that *Senate* terrified *Rinaldo*, & all his followers. Also because the custome was, that the *Senators* elected, should three dayes before they enter their office, remaine as priuate men at home: within that time, *Rinaldo* conferred with the chiefe of his faction, and shewed them their certaine, and approaching perill: the remedie whereof was, to take armes, and by force procure that *Donato Velluti* (who was yet *Gonfaloniere*) should assemble the people in the Market place, call a new *Balia*, depriue the new *Senators* of their office, creating a new *Senate* for their purpose, & exchanging the old *Squattini*, put in new, with the names of their friends. This deuise was by many thought secure and necessarie. Of others, it was holden ouer violent, and dangerous. Among those that disallowed thereof, was *Palla Strozzi*, who being a man indeed quietly disposed, gentle, curteous, & inclined rather to learning, then apt to encounter a faction, or oppose himselfe to ciuill disorder: said, that enterprises hauing in them either craft or courage, do seeme at the beginning easie, but afterwards they prooue hard in their proceeding, and in the end dangerous. Hee also beleued, that the feare of new warres abroad, begun by the Duke in *Romagna*, neare to our confines, should be a meane, that the *Senators* would be more mindfull of them, then of these discords at home. But if it were scene, that they would change the gouernment, the same could not be with such speed, but armes might be taken, and all things done necessarie for defence of the publike state. And this being performed vpon necessitie, and not sooner, should be the lesse maruelled at of the people, and with lesse reproach to themselues. For these reasons it was concluded, that the

new *Senators* should be suffered to enter, and heede be taken to their proceedings; to the end that if any thing were attempted contrarie to the faction, that then euerie man should take Armes and resort to *S. Pulinare*, (a place neare to the Pallace) from whence they might go to performe whatsoeuer should be thought necessary. This conclusion made, euerie man returned home. The new *Senators* entered their offices, and the *Gonfaloniere* (to giue himselfe reputation, and terrifie the contrarie partie) condemned to prison *Donato Velluti*, his predecessor, for hauing imploied the publike treasure. After these things were done, he sounded the minds of his companions, touching the returne of *Cosimo*: & finding them well disposed, consulted with all those whom he thought to be chiefe heads of the faction of *Medici*. By them he was greatly encouraged: And thereupon commanded that *Rinaldo* (as principall man of the contrary faction) should be sent for. After this commandement giuen, *Rinaldo* thought good no longer to protract time, but came from his house followed with many armed men, & with him ioyned presently *Ridolpho Peruzzi*, & *Nicholo Barbadori*. Amongst them were also diuerse other Citizens, and many souldiers, who at that time hapned to be in *Florence* without pay. All which company, according to the order takē, resorted to *S. Pulinare*, & there staid. *Palla Strozzi* had also assembled much company, but came not out: the like did also *Giouanni Guicciardini*. For which so doing, *Rinaldo* sent to sollicite them, & reprove them of their delaie. *Giouanni* answered, that hee made warre inough to the enemy, if by his tarrying at home, he could holde *Piero* his brother from going out, to rescue the Pallace. *Palla* after manie messages sent vnto him, came on horse backe to *S. Pulinare*, with two onely foote men, and himselfe, vnarmed. And *Rinaldo* seeing him, went towards him, and reproued him greatly of negligence, saying that hee shewed himselfe thereby a man either of small troth, or little courage. Both which reproachfull faultes, a man of that sort, whereof he was holden, ought to eschue. And if happily he beleeued, for not performing his promise, that the enemy (hauing victorie) would pardon either his life or his exile, therein he was deceiued. As for himselfe, if any misfortune happened, yet this content of minde should remaine, that before the perill, hee was not dismaid, and the perill being come, hee was not afraid. But he (and such others as he was) should double their owne discontentments, knowing they had three times betraied their Countrey. First when they saued *Cosimo*, next when they refused his counsell, and last for not comming in Armes, according to appointment. To these speeches, *Palla* answered not any thing that was heard of those that were there, but murmuring, turned his horse, and went home. The *Senators* hearing that *Rinaldo* and his followers were in Armes, and seeing themselues abandoned, shut the Pallace gates, and as amazed, knew not what to doo. But *Rinaldo* delaying his going thither, attending for forces which came not, lost the occasion of victorie, and gaue courage to the *Senators* to make prouision, and to other Citizens to goe vnto them, and aduise them how matters might bee appeased. Then some friendes to the *Senators* least suspected, went vnto *Rinaldo*, and saide, that the *Senate* knew no cause of these motions, and that they had no intent to offend him, or if it were for *Cosimo*, there was no meaning of his reuocation. If therefore these were the occasions of their suspition, they might assure themselues, come to their Pallace, be welcome, and haue their demaunds graunted. These words could not alter the resolution of *Rinaldo*, but said that hee would make the *Senators* priuate men, and by that meanes bee assured: which done, reforme the Cittie to the benefite of all men. But it euer cometh to passe, that amongst those whose authoritie is equall, and their opinions diuerse, for the moste parte, nothing is well resolued.

Rinaldo and
his friends ar-
med against
the Medici.

Peruzzi moued with the words of those Citizens, said, that for his owne part, hee sought not further, then that *Cosimo* might no more return, which being granted, he thought the victorie sufficient. Neither desired he in hope of more, to fill the Citie with bloud, and therefore he would obey the *Senate*. Then went he to the Pallace, where he was ioyfully receiued. Thus the staie of *Rinaldo* at *S. Pullinare*, the fainte heart of *Palla*, and the departure of *Ridolpho*, had vterly ouerthrowne the enterprise: and the mindes of those Cittizens that followed *Rinaldo*, beganne to faile of their wonted courage, whereunto the authoritie of the Pope was ioyned. For at this time, Pope *Eugenio* being expelled *Rome*, happened to be in *Florence*, where he heard of these tumults, and thought it his office to be a meane to pacifieth the Cittie. And therefore sent *Giovanni Vittelleschi*, Patriarke and friend to *Rinaldo*, to desire, that hee would come vnto him, for hee intended to imploy all his credite and authoritie to the *Senate*, to make him contented and assured, without bloud or daunger to the Cittie. *Rinaldo* perswaded by the message of his friend, went to *Santa Maria Nouella*, where the Pope laie, and was followed with all those whome hee had armed. To him the Pope declared, what credite the *Senate* had giuen him, which was, to determine all controuersies, and order all matters as should by him bee thought good. *Rinaldo* hauing made prooffe of the coldnesse of *Palla*, and the inconstancie of *Ridolpho Peruzzi*, and wanting a better shift, yeelded himselfe into the Popes hands, hoping his authoritie should haue continued. Thereupon the Pope caused knowledge to be giuen to *Nicholo Barbadori*, and the rest, who attended without, that they should laie downe their Armes: because *Rinaldo* remained with him, for the concluding a peace with the *Senatours*. Which wordes resolved euerie man, and they disarmed themselves. The *Senators* seeing their aduersaries disarmed, practised a peace by mediation of the Pope, and in the meane time sent secretly to *Pistoia*, for certaine bandes of foote men, whome (accompanied with all their men at Armes) they suffered in the night to enter the Cittie: and possessing the strongest places, and calling the people to the Market place, created there a new *Balia*, which at the first assembly, determined the reuocation of *Cosimo*, with all others that were banished. And of the contrary faction, they confined *Rinaldo delli Albizi*, *Ridolpho Peruzzi*, *Nicholo Barbadori*, *Palla Strozzi*, and many other Cittizens, that the number of them was such, as that fewe Townes of *Italy* (and many other places also) but were full of them. By this accident the Citie of *Florence* became depriued, not onely of honest men, but also of riches and industry. The Pope seeing the ruine of those men, who at his request had laide downe Armes, became greatly discōtented, lamenting with *Rinaldo* for the iniury to him done vnder his credit, perswading him to patience, and hope of better fortune. To whome *Rinaldo* answered; the small credit which they gaue me, who ought to haue beleued me, and the ouermuch credite which I haue giuen to you, hath vterly vndone me, and my Countrey. But I complaine more of my selfe then anie others, for beleeuing, that you being banished your Countrey, could maintaine mee, in mine. Of Fortunes dalliances I haue had experience inough, and sith I little trusted to prosperitie, mine aduersitie shall the lesse offend mee, for I knowe well, that (Fortune being so pleased) can againe fauoure mee. But if shee neuer so do, I shall euer care little, to liue in that Cittie, where the lawes are of lesse authoritie, then men. Because that Countrey is to be desired, where the wealth and friends of men may be with securitie enioyed, and not that, where mens goods may bee taken from them; and their friendes (for feare to loose theyr owne) in greatest necessitie forsake them. It was also euer lesse greuous to good
and

Pope Eugenio
laboureth a
Pacification
in Florence.

Cosimo reuo-
ked, and Ri-
naldo with o-
thers, confi-
ned.

The words of
Rinaldo at his
banishment.

and wise men, to heare the miseries of their Countrey, then with their owne eyes to see them. And it is also thought a thing more glorious, to be reputed an honourable Rebel, then a slavish Citizen. After this speech made, being much troubled in mind, he tooke leaue of the Pope, finding great fault with his Councils, and the coldnesse of his friends, and so went towards his exile. *Cosimo* on the other side, hauing receiued knowledge of his restitution, returned to *Florence*, and was there receiued, with no lesse pompe, then is vsed to other Citizens, who after victorie, came home in triumph. So great was the Concourse of people; so great the demonstration of their beneuolence towards him, at this his returne from banishment, as the Cittizens willingly saluted him by name of the peoples Benefactor, and Father of the Country.

The ende of the fourth Booke.



THE FIFT BOOKE.



ALL Countries in their alterations, doo most commonly chaunge from order to disorder, and from disorder to order againe. For nature hauing made all worldly thinges variable, so soone as they haue attained their vttermost perfection and height, doo of force descend: and being come downe so low, as lower they cannot, of necessitie must ascend. So that from good they descended to euill, and from euill ascend to good. Warre begetteth quiet, quiet occasioneth idlenesse, Idlenesse breedeth disorder, Disorder maketh ruine: Likewise of ruine groweth order, of order vertue, and of vertue, glorie with good fortune. It hath bene therefore by wise men obserued, that learning followeth Armes, and in all Cities and Countries, Captaines were before Philosophers. For good and well gouerned Armes, hauing wonne victorie, of that victorie followeth quiet. And surely the courage of warlike mindes cannot with a more honest idlenesse, then the studie of Letters, be corrupted; nor idlenesse by anie greater or more perilous craft enter Cities well gouerned: which *Cato* (at such time as *Diogenes* and *Carneades* Philosophers, were sent Embassadours from *Athen* to the *Senate*) did well obserue. For hee seeing with what admiration the youth beganne to follow them, and knowing the inconueniences which might of that honest idlenesse ensue, provided that no Philosopher, might after be receiued into *Rome*. Euery country therefore by these meanes doth come to decaie. Wherewith men being beaten and weary of troubles, returne (as is before said) to order, if by extraordinarie force

they be not viterly ruined. These occasions, by vertue of the auncient *Toscany* and *Romanes* did make *Italy*, sometimes happie, and sometimes miserable. And albeit since that time, nothing hath bene builded vppon the *Romane* ruines comparable to the olde, (as might with great glorie haue bene vnder the gouernment of a vertuous Prince). Yet in some newe Citties so much vertue is growne vp (among the *Romane* spoyles) that although no one hath attained such power as to commaund the rest, yet became they so well ordered and lincked together, as they deliuered and defended themselues from the barbarous people. Of this number was the *Florentines* gouernment, (although of lesse Empire) yet in authoritie and power not inferiour to anie, but rather by inhabiting the middest of *Italy*, being rich and readie to offend, either happily they answered the warres made against them, or else gaue the victorie to those in whose fauoure they imployed their forces. By the vertue of these principallities, although no times of quiet, and long peace were, yet were they not by terrour of warre much perillous. For we cannot account that peace, where one state oftentimes with Armes assaileth the other. Neither can that be called warre, where men be not slaine, Citties not sacked, nor principallities destroyed. For the warres of that time became so cold, as they were begunne without feare, continued without perill, and ended without losse. Inso-much, as that vertue which in other Countries was wont by long peace to be extinguished, was in *Italy* by their owne cowardice quenched, as will plainly appeare, by that we will hereafter declare from the 1434. till the 94. Whereby we may see, how at length a way was againe opened for the entrie of straungers, and *Italy* became to them subiect. And albeit the actions of our Princes both abroad and at home, are not (as those of auncient time were) to be read and maruelled at for their vertue and greatnesse: yet for some other quallities, to be with no lesse admiration considered, seeing so many Noble people, were by so fewe and euill trained souldiers kept in awe. And if in declaration of things happened in this badde world, we shall not set downe the courage of anie souldier, the vertue of anie Captaine, or the loue of anie Citizen towards his Countrey: yet shall you finde, what cunning and Art, the Princes, the Souldiers, and chiefe Gouernours in Common weales (to maintaine the reputation they did not deserue) haue vsed: which percase will prouoe not lesse worthie, and profitable to be knowne, then those of most auncient time. For as those do stirre vp Noble mindes to follow them: So these, to eschue their lewdnesse and lacke of vertue, wil prouoke vs. In those dayes *Italy* was brought to such condition, by them that there commaunded: that whensoever through reconciliation of the Princes a peace was made; shortly after, (by such as had weapons in hand) it was againe disturbed. So that neither by the warres ended, was gotten glorie, nor by the peace, quiet. The peace being concluded betweene the Duke of *Milan*, and those of the League, in the yeare 1433. the souldiers desiring still to exercise the warre, made an enterprise against the Church. There were at that time in *Italy*, two sorts of souldiers, the one trained vnder *Braccio*, the other vnder *Sforza*. Of these, the chiefe Captain was the Earle *Francesco* sonne of *Sforza*. Of the other, *Nicholo Piccinino*, and *Nicholo Fortibraccio* were the Leaders. To these two Sects, all the other Italian souldiers ioyned themselues. Yet were the followers of *Sforza* of most reputation, as well for the vertue of the Earle, as the promise to him made by the Duke, of *Bianca* his naturall daughter: which alliance, gained him exceeding estimation. Both these Sects of souldiers, after the peace of *Lombardy* (for diuerse occasions) assaulted the Pope *Eugenio*. *Nicholo Fortibraccio* was thereto moued by the old displeasure borne to the Church, by *Braccio*. And the Earle, by his own ambitiō. Inso-much as *Nicholo* assaulted *Rome*: & the Earle possessed himselfe,

Two sorts of
souldiers in
Italy. 1433.

The Duke of
*Milā*s daugh-
ter offered to
Fran. Sforza.

himselfe, of *La Marca*. The Romanes to eschue the warres, banished *Eugenio* from *Rome*, who (with perill and difficultie escaped) came vnto *Florence*. Where considering of the danger wherin he was, and seeing himselfe by those Princes abandoned, and that they refused to take armes in hand for him, by whose meane at their owne desire, they had bene lately disarmed, compounded with the Earle, and granted him the principallitie of *La Marca*: notwithstanding that hee had not onely before taken that countrey from him, but also vsed contempt in the letters which hee wrote to his Agents for the diuision of the land, writing thus; *Girifalco nostra Firmiano, Inuito Petro & Paulo*. Neither was he contented with the graunt of these townes, but hee would be also *Gonfaloniere* of the Church. All which was graunted: So much did Pope *Eugenio*, feare more a daungerous warre, then a dishonourable peace. Thus the Earle become friend to the Pope, did persecute *Nicholo Fortibraccio*, and between them in the territorie of the Church, in many moneths, many accidents happened, more to the preiudice of the Pope, and his subiects, then of them that made the war. In so much as by the Dukes of *Milan*, his mediation, it was concluded, that the one, and the other of them, should remaine Princes in the Townes belonging to the Church. This warre quenched at *Rome*, was kindled in *Romagna* by *Babtiſta Canneto*, who in *Bologna* had slaine certaine of the house of *Grifoni*, & driuen from thence the Popes Governour, with some other enemies. Then to hold that state by force, hee desired aide of *Philippo*. And the Pope to be reuenged of this iniurie, required helpe of the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. The one and the other of them were ayded. So that within short space, two great Armies were come into *Romagna*. The Generall for *Philippo*, was *Nicholo Piccinino*. The *Venetian* Forces, and the *Florentines*, were ledde by *Gatamelata*, and *Nicholo de Tolentino*. Neare vnto *Imola*, they ioyned battaile, wherein the *Venetians* and *Florentines* were ouerthrowne: and *Nicholo de Tolentino* sent prisoner vnto the Duke, where either by poyson, or his owne sorrow for the losse receiued, within fewe dayes hee died. The Duke after this victorie, either because hee was weake; or beleued that the league after this ouerthrow would stande quiet, followed no further his fortune; but gaue the Pope and his confederates time to vnite themselues anew: who elected for their Captaine the Earle *Francesco*; with determination to remoue *Nicholo Fortibraccio* from the Townes belonging to the Church; and by that meanes, and the warres which in fauoure of the Pope they had begunne. The *Romanes* seeing the Pope strong in the field, sought his friendship, and receiued a Governour from him. *Nicholo Fortibraccio* among other townes, possessed *Tibali*, *Montefasconi* the Cittie of *Castello* and *Ascesi*. Into this towne *Nicholo* (not being able to keepe the field) fled. There the Earle besieged him, and the siege continuing long (for *Nicholo* manfully defended himselfe) the Duke thought necessarie either to impeach the League of that victorie, or else after the same, to take order for the defence of his owne. He therefore, to remoue the Earle from the siege, commaunded *Nicholo Piccinino* to goe into *Toscana*, by the way of *Romagna*. Whereupon the League iudging it more necessarie to defend *Toscana*, then surprize *Ascesi*, gaue order to the Earle, not to suffer the passage of *Nicholo*, who was alreadie with his Armie arriued at *Furla*. The Earle on the other side marched with his souldiers, and came to *Secena*, recommending vnto *Lione* his brother, the warre of *La Marca*, and his other lands, during the time that *Piccinino* should passe. And while *Piccinino* laboured to passe, and the Earle impeached him, *Nicholo Fortibraccio* assaulted *Lione*, with great honour tooke him, and spoyled his souldiers. Also following this victorie, he surprized many townes in *La Marca*. This proceeding greatly greued the Earle, and supposing all his Countries to be lost, hee left

The Pope assaulted by Fran. Sforza.

Warre betweene the pope and the Duke of Milan.

Fran. Sforza, Generall of the League.

Peace be-
tweene the
League and
the Duke.

New ordinan-
ces in Floréce.

part of his armie to make warre vpon *Piccinino*: with the rest he marched towardes *Fortibraccio*, whom he assaulted and vanquished. In that ouerthrow, *Fortibraccio* remained a prisoner, and was so sore hurt, that thereof he died. This victorie restored vnto the Pope all those townes, which by *Fortibraccio* had bene taken from him, and brought the Duke of *Milan* to demaund peace, which by the mediation of *Nicholo de Este* Marquesse of *Farrara*, was concluded. Whereby the townes surprized by the Duke in *Romagna*, were restored to the church: and the souldiers belonging to the Duke, returned to *Lombardy*. Also *Baptista de Ganneto* (as it happeneth to all others, who by force or vertue of other men possesse any state) so soone as the Dukes souldiers were departed from *Romagna*, (his own power and vertue not being able to defend him in *Bologna*) fled away. Whither *Antonio Benteuogli*, chiefe of the contrarie faction, presently returned. All these things chanced during the exile of *Cosimo*: after whose returne, these who had sought his reuocation, with diuerse other Cittizens before iniured, thought without respect, to assure themselues of the gouernment. And the *Senate* which succeeded, in the moneths of Nouember and December, not contented with that which their predecessours had done in fauour of their faction, prolonged & changed the time and places of those that were banished, and confined many others anew. Also diuerse Cittizens were in that time hindered, not only by the humour of faction, but also in respect of their riches, their parentage, and priuate friendship. And if this proscription of bloud had bene continued, it would haue bin like vnto that of *Octauiano*, or *Silla*, being partly also imbrued in bloud. For *Antonio* sonne of *Barnardo Guadagni* was beheaded, and foure other Cittizens (among whome was *Zanoby Belfrategli*, and *Cosimo Barbadori*. These two Cittizens for hauing passed their confines, and remaining at *Venegia*, were by the *Venetians* (who esteemed more the loue of *Cosimo* then their own honor) sent home prisoners, & were most cruelly put to death. Which thing gaue great reputation to the faction of *Cosimo*, and much terror to the enemy, that so mightie a Common weale refused not to sell their libertie to the *Florentines*. Which was thought to be done, not so much to gratifie *Cosimo*, as to exasperate the factions in *Florence*, & make, by meanes of bloud, the diuision of our citie the more daungerous: Because the *Venetians* found that there was nothing that so much hindred their greatnes, as the vniting thereof. Thus the citie being acquite both of the enemies & persons suspected to the state, the gouernours studying to pleasure other people, & make their own part the stronger, restored the house of *Alberti* with all other Rebels. All the great Cittizens (a few except) were brought into the order of the people, & the possessions of the rebels at smal prices, among them sold. Moreouer with new lawes, and orders, they strengthened themselues, making new *Squittini*, taking out the names of their enemies, & putting in the names of their friends. Also being warned by the ruine of their enemies, and iudging that it sufficed not for the holding of the state, to haue the *Squittini* full of their friends: they also thought good, that the Magistrates of life and death, should be chosen of the chiefe of their faction. It was therefore required, that the makers of the new *Squittini*, together with the old *Senate*, should haue authoritie to create the new. They gaue vnto the Eight authoritie ouer life and death, and prouided that those that were banished, should not (though their time were expired) return, vnlesse of the *Senat* and the *Colledges* being in number 37.) were thereunto consenting, or at the least, thirtie foure of them. To write vnto those that were confined, or receiue any letters from them, was forbidden. Also euery word, euery signe, & euery action that offended the Gouernours, was greuously punished. And if in *Florence* remained any suspitiō, it was the Impositions lately imposed: & so hauing driue out their aduersaries, or brought thē to great pouerty, assured themselues of the state. Also not to want forrein aid, but
preuent

preuent such as thereby determined to offend them, they did confederate, and make league with the Pope, the *Venetians*, and the Duke of *Milan*. The state of *Flbrence* resting in these tearmes, *Giduanna* Queene of *Naples* dyed, making by her testament *Rinieri de Angio*, heyre of her Kingdome. At that time *Alfonso* King of *Aragon* happened to be in *Sicilia*, and hauing the friendship of many Barrons there, prepared himselfe to possesse that Kingdome. The *Napolitanes*, and many of the Lords fauoured *Rinieri*. The Pope on the other side, would neither that *Rinieri*, nor *Alfonso* might possesse it: but desired that himselfe should gouerne it, by a Deputy of his owne. Yet *Alfonso* being arriued in the Kingdome, was by the Duke of *Sessa* receiued, and there entertained some other Princes, hoping to surprize *Capoua* (which the Prince of *Tarranto* in the name of *Alfonso* possessed) and by that meane to constrain the *Napolitanes* to yeeld to his will. For that purpose he sent his Nauie to assault *Gaietta*, which was holden for the *Neapolitanes*. The *Napolitanes* then prayed ayde of *Philippo*, who perswaded the *Genouesi* to take that enterprise in hand. They not onely to satisfie the Duke their Prince, but also to saue the merchandize they had in *Naples* and *Gaietta*, armed a mightie Nauie. *Alfonso* on the contrary side, vnderstanding thereof, encreased his forces, and went in person to encounter the *Genouesi*, with whom he fought neere vnto the Island of *Pontio*, and there his Nauie was vanquished, himselfe with diuerse other Princes taken and sent by the *Genouesi* to *Philippo*. This victorie dismayd all the Princes of *Italy*, because thereby they thought he might become owner of all. But he (so diuerse are the opinions of men) tooke a course, cleane contrary to expectation. This *Alfonso*, being a man verie wise, so soone as he could come to the speech of *Philippo*, tolde how greatly he decciued himselfe to fauour *Rinieri*, and disfauour him: because if *Rinieri* were King of *Naples*, he would labour with all his force to bring the Dukedome of *Milan* to the hands of the French King, by reason his ayde was at hand, his furniture of all things necessarie, and the way open for his reliefe. Neither could he looke for better then his owne ruine, if he made that state to become French. But the contrarie would follow, if himselfe might be Prince. For he not fearing any other enemy then the French, should be enforced to loue, honour and obey him, who had the onely power to open the way to his enemies. So that although the Kingdome should rest with *Alfonso*, yet the authoritie and power thereof would remaine in the hands of *Philippo*. Wherefore it would much more import him then himselfe, to consider the perill of the one, and the profit of the other, vnlesse he desired more to satisfie his fantasie, then assure the state. Because in doing the one, he should be Prince, and free, by the other (in the middest of two mightie enemies) either sure to lose the state vtterly, liue alwayes in suspition, or, as a subiect, obey them. These words wrought so deepe in the Dukes mind, that (changing his intent) he deliuered *Alfonso*, honorably returned him to *Genoua*, and from thence to the Kingdome. There he imbarked againe, and being arriued at *Gaietta*, his deliuey was knowne, and that Countrey sodeinly surprized by certaine Lords his followers. The *Genouesi* seeing, that without respect to them, the Duke had deliuered the King, and that he, whome they with their charge and perill had honoured, did not make them aswell partakers of the honor in the Kings enlargement, as of the iniurie to him done, and his ouerthrow, grew greatly offended. In the Cittie of *Genoua* (when it liueth in libertie) there is created one head, whome they call *Doge*, not to be a Prince absolute, nor to determine alone, but as chiefe to propound those matters, whereof the Magistrates and Councils should consult. Within that Towne be many noble Families, which are so mightie, that with difficultie, they yeeld to the authoritie of Magistrates. And of them the houses of *Fregosa* and *Adorna* be of greatest force.

Warre between Rinieri de Angio, and King Alfonso of Aragon.

King Alfonso taken by the Genouesi.

King Alfonso deliuered.

Fregosi and Adorni.

From

Francesco
Spinola.

The libertie
of Genoua
recouered.

The Oration
of Ri. de Al-
bizi to the
Duke of Mi-
lan.

From these, the diuisions of that Cittie, and the causes of ciuill disorders did proceed. For they many times contending for gouernment, not onely ciuily, but also by armes, it falleth out, that euer the one faction is afflicted, and the other gouerneth. It also happeneth many times, that those who are deposed from authoritie, do pray ayde of forreine armes, and yeeld that gouernment to others, which they themselues could not enioy. Hereof it proceedeth, that those who gouerned in *Lombardy*, do for the most part commaund in *Genoua*, as it happened at such time as *Alfonso* was taken. Among the chiefe of the *Genouesi* that caused the Cittie to be giuen into the hands of *Philippo*, was *Francesco Spinola*, who not long after he had brought his countrey in bondage (as in like cases it euer happeneth) became suspected to the Duke. Wherewith he being discontent, voluntarily exiled himselfe to *Gaietta*, and there chanced to be, at such time as the fight by sea was performed against *Alfonso*. In which exploit he serued so vertuously, that he perswaded himselfe to haue deserued so well of the Duke, as in respect of his seruice, he might (at the least) liue in *Genoua* with securitie. Yet perceiuing the Duke to continue in his suspicion, and fearing least he beleued, that a man who had not loued the liberty of his countrey, could not loue him, determined to try a new fortune, and at one instant both to deliuer his countrey, and win himselfe fame with securitie; Being perswaded, that by no meanes he might recouer the good will of the Cittizens better, then to performe such an acte with his owne hand: So as, the same hand which had offended, and hurt his countrey, should also minister the medicine, and heale it. Then knowing the vniuersall offence borne to the Duke by the deliuerie of the King, thought the time to serue well for the execution of his intent. Wherefore he imparted his mind to some, whome he knew of his owne opinion: Them he perswaded and prepared to followe him. The feast of S. Iohn Baptist being come, *Arismino* (the new Gouernor sent by the Duke) entred into *Genoua*; accompanied with *Opicino* the old Gouernor, and many other Cittizens. *Francesco Spinola* thought then good no longer to deferre the matter, but came out of his house with diuerse others, all armed, and priuie to his determination. So soone as hee came to the market place, where himselfe dwelled, he proclaymed the name of libertie. And it was a thing very maruellous to see, with how great speed the people and Cittizens to that name assembled: So as no man that loued the Duke either for his owne profit, or other occasion, had leisure to take armes, or thinke how to saue himselfe. *Arismino* with some other *Genouesi*, fled into the Castle which he kept for the Duke. *Opicino* presuming that (if he fled to the Pallace) hauing there two thousand Souldiers at his commaundement, he should either saue himselfe, or giue courage to his friends to defend him, went thitherwards, but before he came to the market place, was flaine, cut in pieces, and drawne through euery streete of the Cittie. The *Genouesi* hauing thus reduced the Cittie vnder their owne Magistrates and libertie, within few dayes also surprized the Castle, with the other places of strength possessed by the Duke, and so clearly cast off the yoke of *Philippo*. These matters thus handled, as at the beginning, the Princes of *Italy* was dismayd, fearing that the Duke should become ouermightie, so this gaue them hope (seeing what end they had) to be able to bridle him. And notwithstanding the league lately made, the *Florentines* and the *Venetians* made peace with the *Genouesi*: whereupon, *Rinaldo delli Albizi*, and other leaders of the *Florentines* banished, seeing things out of order, and the world changed, did hope to perswade the Duke to make open warre against the *Florentines*. For which purpose they went to *Milan*, and *Rinaldo* being come to the Dukes presence, spake as followeth. If we sometimes your enemies, do now confidently desire ayde of you for the recouerie of our countrey, neither you, nor

nor any other (that consider worldly matters, how they proceed, and how variable fortune is) ought to meruaile, albeit neither of our passed or present actions, nor of that we haue long since done either to you, or to our countrey, or that which now is in doing, we can render a good and reasonable excuse. There is no good man re-
prooueth another for defending his Countrey, in what sort soeuer the same is de-
fended. Neither was it euer our meaning, to iniure you, but to defend our owne frō
being iniured; which was sufficiētly proued in the greatest victories of our league.
For so soone as we knew you inclined to a true peace, we were thereof more desi-
rous, then you your selfe, so that we need not feare to obtaine any fauour at your
hands. Neither can our Countrey find fault, although we now perswade you to
take armes against it, whome with so great resolution we haue withstood. For that
countrey deserueth to be loued of all men, which indifferētly loueth them; and not
that countrey, which disdainig the greatest number, aduanceth a few. There is no
man also that ought to condemne men, although for some causes they take armes a-
gainst their countrey. For albeit the Cities be bodies mixed, yet haue they of bodies
simple, some resemblance. And as in these, many infirmities grow, which without
fire & force cannot be cured: so in the other, many mischiefes arise, which a godly
and good Citizen should offend to leaue vncured: notwithstanding that in the cure
he doth (as it behoueth him) apply both fire & force. What sicknes in the bodie of
a common-weale can be greater, then seruitude? And what medicine is more need-
full then this in the cure of that disease? Those warres be only iust, which be neces-
sarie, and those armes most mercifull, where other hope cannot be had, then by thē.
I know not what necessitie is greater then ours, or what compassion can be more,
then to deliuer a Countrey frō seruitude? Most certainly we know our cause is to
be pittied and iust, which ought to be both by vs and you cōsidered. For your part,
faile not to affoord this iustice, sith the *Florentines* haue not bene ashamed, after a
peace with so great solemnitie concluded, to make league with the *Genouesi* your re-
bels: so that though our cause moue you not to cōpasion, yet this dishonor offered
vnto your selfe, ought to perswade you, and the rather that you see the enterprife
easie. Let not exampls passed discourage you, hauing seen the power of that people,
and their obstinate defence of themselues. Which two things, might yet reasonably
be feared, were they of the same vertue, which in those daies they haue bene. But
now you shall finde all contrarie. For what force can you looke for in any Cittie,
which hath spoiled the greatest part of the riches, and industrie thereof. What reso-
lution can be hoped of in a people, by so diuers and new quarrels disunited? Which
disunion, is cause, that those riches there remaining in such sort as they were wont,
be imploied, because mē do willingly spend their patrimony, whē they see the same
for their owne glory, their owne honor, and their owne Countrey imploied; euer
hoping to recouer that in peace, which the warre hath consumed: and not whē they
see themselues both in war & peace oppressed; hauing in the one to suspect the in-
iurie of enemies, and in the other, the insolencie of them that command. Also, the
people are more harmed by couetousnes of our own Citizens, then the spoile of our
enemies, for of this some end may be hoped of, but of that none at all. In the warres
passed, you made warre to the whole Citie, but now you are only to contend
with a few. Then you came to take the state from many, and those good Citizens,
but now you are to assault a fewe, and those but base companions. Then you
came to take the libertie from the Cittie, but now you come to restore it. It is not
therefore like, that in so great a contrarietie of occasions, the effect that will fol-
low shall be like. Yea, you are rather to hope of victorie certaine, which how
greatlie it fortifieth your State, your selfe may easilie iudge, hauing thereby
greatly

Genoua re-
uolted from
the Duke.

greatly bound *Toscana* to be your friend. And though at some other time, this victorie would be accounted ambitious & violent, yet vpon this occasion, is esteemed iust and reasonable. Omit not therefore the present opportunitie, and thinke that although your other enterprises against the Cittie, did with their difficultie breed your expences and infamie, yet this with great facilitie shall bring you foorth exceeding profit, with most honourable report. There needed not many words to perswade the Duke to moue warre against the *Florentines*, because he was thereunto disposed by hate hereditarie, and blind ambition, which humors did leade and commaund him: and the rather, being spurred forward by new iniuries, and offence for the league made with the *Genouesi*. Notwithstanding, his former charges, with the fresh memory of perils, and losses passed, together with the vaine hope of the banished men, did discourage him. This Duke, so soone as he vnderstood the rebellion of *Genoua*, had sent *Nicholo Piccinino* with all his men of armes, and those footemen he could hire in his iourney, to recouer the Cittie, before the Cittizens had settled their minds and planted a new government, greatly trusting vnto the Castle of *Genoua* which was holden for him. And albeit that *Nicholo* had forced the *Genouesi* to flee vnto the mountaines, and taken from them the Vale of *Pozzeueri*, where they fortified themselves, and also constrained them to retire within the walles of their Cittie: yet found he so great difficultie in going forward, by reason of the Cittizens resolute defending themselves, that he was enforced to remoue from thence. Whereupon the Duke at the perswasion of the banished *Florentines*, commaunded that the Riuer on the East side should be assaulted, approching the confines of *Pisa*, and there make the greatest warre to *Genoua*, that possibly they could, supposing, that resolution would from time to time enforme, what course were best to be followed. Then *Nicholo* assaulted and surprized *Serezana*, and after many displeasures done, to make the *Florentines* more suspicious, he came to *Lucca*, and caused a report to be made, that he intended a iourney to *Naples* in ayde of the King of *Aragon*. Pope *Eugenio* vpon these new accidents, went from *Florence* to *Bologna*, where he practised new composition betweene the Duke and the League, perswading the Duke, that if he would not consent to the peace, he should be enforced to deliuer the Earle *Francesco* his confederate, at that present remayning in his pay. But notwithstanding the Pope his great indeuour, all his designes prooued vayne, because the Duke, without possession of *Genoua*, would not consent, and the League would refuse, vnlesse *Genoua* continued free. Euery man then despairing of peace, prepared for the warre. *Nicholo Piccinino* being come to *Lucca*, the *Florentines* mistrusted no new matter, but caused *Neri* of *Gino* to goe with their Souldiers to the countrey of *Pisa*, obtaining of the Pope, that the Earle *Francesco* should ioyne with him, and so with both their armies together, make head at *S. Gonda*. *Piccinino* arriued at *Lucca*, desired passage to march towards the Kingdome, and being denied, threatened to passe by force. These two armies, were in force and vertue of the Captaines equall, for which respect, neither of them prooued their fortune, being also hindered with the cold weather, for then the moneth of December was begun. In which respects many daies, without one offending the other, they staid. The first of them which marched, was *Nicholo Piccinino*, who was informed, that if he would in the night assault *Vico Pisano*, he might easily surprize it. *Nicholo* tooke the matter in hand, but not preuailing, spoiled and burned the countrey thereabouts, together with the Towne of *S. Giovanni alla Vena*. This enterprise, albeit for the most part thereof to no purpose, yet did the same encourage *Nicholo* to goe forwards, seeing the Earle and *Neri* moued not. Therefore he assaulted and possessed *Santa Maria in Castello*, and *Filetto*. Yet for all this, the *Florentine* forces remoued not: not because
the

the Earle stood in feare, but because the warre (for the reuerence borne to the Pope, who intreated for peace) was not by the Magistrates in *Florence* determined. And that, which the *Florentines* by their owne wisdom were counsailed to do, was thought of the enemy to be done for feare. Which conceite gaue them courage, to take new enterprises in hand, so that they determined to besiege *Borgo*, and before it presented all their forces. This new assault, caused the *Florentines* to set aside all respects, and not only to rescue *Borgo*, but also to assault the countrey of *Lucca*. Then the Earle marching towards *Nicholo*, and fighting with him neere vnto *Borgo*, vanquished his forces, and leuied the siege. The *Venetians* in the meane while, thinking that the Duke had broken the peace, sent *Giouan Francesco da Gonzaga* their Generall, into *Ghiriadada*, who spoiling greatly the Dukes countrey, constrained him to reuoke *Nicholo Piccinino* from the enterprise of *Toscana*. Which reuocation, together with the victorie had against *Nicholo*, gaue the *Florentines* courage to assault *Lucca*, with hope to possesse it; Wherein they had neither feare, nor respect at all, seeing the Duke, whome they onely feared, to be assailed by the *Venetians*: And that the *Lucchese*, hauing receiued enemies at home, were content to be assaulted, in respect whereof they could not at all complaine. In the moneth of Aprill, the yeare 1437. the Earle marched with his army, but before the *Florentines* would assault others, desired to recouer their owne, and therefore recouered againe *Santa Maria in Castello*, with all other places surprized by *Piccinino*. That done, directed a course to the countrey of *Lucca*, assailing *Ca-Maggiore*. The inhabitants whereof, though faithfull to their Lord, yet because feare of the enemy neere at hand, had greater force in them, then the dutie toward their friend farre off, they yeelded themselues. And with like reputation was *Massa*, and *Serezana* surprized. Which things being done about the end of the moneth of May, the army returned towards *Lucca*, spoiling the Corne, burning the Villages, cutting the Vines and trees, driuing away the Cattle, and not fearing to performe euery outrage that souldiers were wont to do vnto their enemies. The *Lucchese* on the other side, seeing themselues by the Duke abandoned, and despairing to defend their countrey, intrrenched and fortified the Cittie by all meanes they possible could. And hauing men sufficient, hoped they might for a time defend the same, as in former assaults of the *Florentines* they had done. They only feared the mutable minds of the common people, least they being besieged, would grow wearie, esteeming more their owne priuate perill, then the libertie of others, and so enforce some dishonorable and dangerous composition. Wherefore to perswade them to take courage, and be resolute in defence of the Cittie, one of the most auntient and wisest Cittizens assembled the people in the market place, and said vnto them as followeth. You ought alwaies to remember, that things done by necessitie, deserue neither commendation nor blame. If therefore you haue found fault with these warres which the *Florentines* do make vpon you, and that we haue gained in receiuing souldiers from the Duke, and suffered them to assault vs, you greatly iniure your selues. Also, the auncient enimitie of the *Florentines* towards you is well knowne: whereof, neither your iniuries, nor their owne feare, but our weakenesse, and their ambition, hath bene the cause; for that, the one giueth them hope to oppresse you, and the other encouragement to performe the oppression. Do not beleue that any merit of yours can remouethat desire in them, neither any iniurie by you done, can more increase the desire they haue to offend you. Wherefore, as they do studie to take your libertie from you, so must you labour to defend the same. And, for those things which both they and we do to that end, euery man may be sorie, but no man can meruaile. Let vs then be sorie that we are assaulted, that our townes are besieged,

our

Lucca distressed.

The Oration of the Lucchese to the other Cittizens.

our houses burned, and our countrey spoiled. Notwithstanding, which of vs is so vnwise, as to meruaile thereat? For if we were able, we our selues would do the like, or worse to them. If they haue moued this warre by the comming of *Nicholo*, had he not come, they would haue done the like vpon some other occasion. If this mischief had bene deferred, the same perhaps would haue prooued greater, so that, this his comming, ought not so much to be blamed, as our euill fortune, and their ambitious nature. For lith we could not refuse to receiue the Dukes souldiers, they being come, could not refraine to make the warre. You know well, that without the aide of some mightie Prince, we could not be defended: neither was there any of power sufficient, nor more likely to defend vs both with fidelitie and force, then the Duke. Hee hath restored our libertie, and therefore reason would, hee should defend it. He hath bene also enemy to all those that were our auntient enemies. If then by not offending the *Florentines*, we had incurred the Dukes displeasure, we should thereby haue lost our friend, and made the enemy more mightie, and more apt to offend vs. So as it is much better to haue this warre with the Dukes loue, then peace with his displeasure. And we may hope well he will deliuer vs from those dangers, whereunto he hath drawne vs, so that we do not forsake him. You know with how great furie the *Florentines* haue diuerse times assailed vs, and with how great glorie we haue often defended our selues against them, euen when we had none other hope, but of God and time, the one and the other of them preserued vs. And therefore why should we now dispaire to defend our selues? At that time all *Italy* had abandoned vs, but now, the Duke is on our side, and we may also hope that the *Venetians* will not be hastie to offend vs, as men that desire not to increase the *Florentines* greatnes. Heretofore the *Florentines* haue bene more free, they had also more hope to be aided, of themselues, they were more mightie, and we in euery respect weaker then we now are. For at that time we defended a Tyrant, but now we defend our selues. Then the honour of our defence was an other mans, now it is our owne. At that time when they assaulted vs, they were vnited, but now they assaile vs disunited, all *Italy* being full of their Rebels. But if all these hopes were not, yet extreame necessitie ought to make vs resolute in our owne defence. Euery enemy ought to be by vs iustly feared, for euery of them do seeke their owne glorie and our destruction. But of all others, we ought most to abhorre the *Florentines*, because our obedience, our tribute, and the subiection of this Cittie do not suffice to content them, but they would also haue our bodies and wealth, to the end they might feed their crueltie with our bloud, and fill their couetous desire with our riches. Euery man therefore of what sort soeuer, ought to detest them. Be not therefore dismayed to behold the fields spoiled, the Villages burned, and the Townes sacked. Yet if this Cittie be saued, of necessitie they will be recouered; But if this Cittie be lost, without any our profit they should be saued: Because we continuing our libertie, the enemy shall with difficultie possesse them, but losing our libertie, in vaine we shall possesse them. Take your weapons therefore in hand, and when you fight, beleue that the renowne of your victorie shall be not onely the safetie of our common countrey, but also of your priuate houses and children. The last wordes of his speech were with so great comfort of the people receiued, that with one voyce they promised to dye, rather then yeeld or consent to any composition in preiudice of their libertie: and therefore prepared all things necessarie for defence of the Cittie. In the meane space, the *Florentine* army lost no time, but after much hurt done to the Countrey, by treatie tooke *Monte Carlo*, and after removed to *Vzano*, to the end that the *Lucchesi* enuironed on euery side, should looke for no rescue, and so by famine force that Cittie to yeeld. The Castle was verie strong,

strong, and fully manned, whereby the winning thereof, was not so easie as the others. The *Lucchesi* seeing their Cittie on euery side besieged, did (as reason would) resort to the Duke: To whome, by all manner of perswasions, both sweete and sowre, they recommended themselues. And in their speech, sometimes they made mention of their owne merits, and sometimes they laied before him the iniurie done by the *Florentines*, and what encouragement other his friends would take, if they were defended; or not, what feare might be conceiued thereby. But if they should lose their libertie and liues, he should thereby lose his friends and honour, together with the loue of all those, that would at euery daunger aduventure for him. These words were accompanied with teares, to the end, that if his owne obligation moued him not, yet the compasison of their miserie might perswade him. So that the Duke adding to his auintient hate towards the *Florentines* the new desert of the *Lucchesi*, and aboue all, desiring that the *Florentines* should not grow great by this victorie, resolued, to send mightie forces into *Toscana*, or else with much furie assault the *Venetians*, so as, the *Florentines* should be forced to leaue their enterprize and succour them. This resolution made, was speedely aduertised to *Florence*, that the Duke intended to send men into *Toscana*, which moued the *Florentines* to hope the lesse of victorie. And to the end the Duke might be holden occupied in *Lombardy*, they did sollicite the *Venetians* to set vpon him with all their forces. But they were greatly daunted with the departure of the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, who had abandoned them, and was ioyned with the Duke. And therefore being (as it were) disarmed, did answere, they were not only vnable to makethemselues stronger, but also vnfit to continue the warre, vnlesse the Earle *Francesco* were sent vnto them, with condition that he should in person passe the Riuer *Po*. For they would not in any wise allow of the old Capitulations, whereby he stood bound not to passe the Riuer *Po*. And moreouer they alleaged, that without a Captaine they could not make warre, and of other then the Earle, they had no hope. Neither could they imploy him, vnlesse he were bound to make warre in all places. It seemed to the *Florentines* necessarie, that the warre should be made in *Lombardy* with great force: yet on the other side, if the Earle were remoued from the siege of *Lucca*, that enterprize were to no purpose. And well they knewe this request made of the *Venetians*, was not so much of any neede they had of the Earle, as to hinder them of that victorie. Contrary to that allegation was alleaged, that the Earle was prepared to goe into *Lombardy*, whensoever they of the League should commaund him, yet would he not alter his bond, least thereby he might hinder himselfe in the marriage, promised by the Duke. Thus were the *Florentines* possessed with two contrarie passions, the desire to winne *Lucca*, and the feare of the Dukes warre. But (as for the most part it happeneth) feare preuailed, and they content that the Earle hauing wonne *Vzano*, should goe into *Lombardy*. One other difficultie also there was, which not being in the power of the *Florentines* to dispose, perplexed them more then the former. Which was, that the Earle would not passe the *Po*, and the *Venetians* otherwise would not enterteine him. So no meane being to accord them, but that the one must yeeld to the other, the *Florentines* perswaded the Earle to write a letter, and thereby promise the *Senate* of *Florence* to passe the Riuer, which he might do without dishonor, because that priuate promise should not be any breach of his publike obligation: and notwithstanding he might after make warre without passing the Riuer, yet thereof this commoditie would followe, that the warre being kindled; the *Venetians* should be forced to followe it, and so the humor which they feared, would be turned another way. But the *Venetians* on the other side affirmed, that his priuate Letter did suffice

Diffidence
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and the Earle
Francesco.

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to binde him, and they were therewith satisfied. And if the Earle might still vse respects to his Father in law, they would allow thereof: for it was neither profitable to himselfe, or them, without great necessitie to discouer him. By this meanes, the passage of the Earle into *Lombardy* was determined. Who hauing surprized *Vzano*, and made some Bulwarks about *Lucca*, to keepe the Citizens from issuing out, and recommending the warre to his Deputies, passed the Alps, and went vnto *Reggio*. Then the *Venetians* grew suspitious of his proceedings. And first of all to prooue his disposition, required him to passe the Riuer *Po*, and ioyne with their other forces. Which the Earle vtterly denied, and many iniurious words passed betwixt him and *Andrea Mauroceno*, sent thither by the *Venetians*; the one of these accusing the other of much pride, and little fidelitie. The Earle affirming he was not bound to the seruice, and the other protesting that no paiement should be made. So in the end, the Earle returned into *Toscana*, and *Mauroceno* to *Venice*. The Earle, was by the *Florentines* lodged in the countrey of *Pisa*, hoping to perswade him to renew the warre against the *Lucchesi*. But thereunto they found him not disposed. The Duke then vnderstanding, that for respect and reuerence borne to him, the Earle would not passe the Riuer, he hoped also that by this meanes he might saue the *Lucchesi*; And therefore prayed him to make peace betwixt the *Lucchesi* and the *Florentines*, and (if he would) to include him also: Giuing him hope, that hee should, whensoever he pleased, be married vnto his daughter. This alliaunce greatly moued the Earle, because thereby hee hoped, (the Duke not hauing any sonnes) to become owner of *Milan*. For which cause, he euer refused to proceed in the warres as the *Florentines* did require him; alleaging hee would not marche vnlesse the *Venetians* did performe their payment and promises. Neither was their paie sufficient: for he, being desirous to liue secure in his owne Countrey, it behoued him to haue other friends then the *Florentines*. Wherefore, if by the *Venetians* hee were abandoned, then should it behoue him to take heed vnto his owne doings, and (so seemed) a little to threaten an agreement with the Duke. These caullations, and these subtilties, highlie offended the *Florentines*. For thereby they thought the enterprise of *Lucca* to be lost, and doubted also of their owne estate, if the Duke and the Earle should ioyne together. Then to perswade the *Venetians* to performe the paie promised vnto the Earle, *Cosimo de Medici* went vnto *Venice*, hoping with his credit to perswade them. Being there arriued, he disputed of this matter at large with the *Senate*, and laide before them the state of *Italy*, and the daunger thereof. Declaring also, of how great forces and reputation in Armes the Duke was, concluding, that if the Duke did ioyne with the Earle, the *Venetians* should be forced to retire to the Sea, and the *Florentines* be in perill of their libertie. Whereunto the *Venetians* answered, that they knewe their owne strength, and the *Italian* forces, and beleued they were able ynough to defend themselves. Affirming also, they were not wont to paie Souldiers that serued other men. Wherefore it behoued the *Florentines*, themselves should paie the Earle, sith by him they were serued: and that for the safe enjoying their estate, it was more necessarie to keepe downe the Earles insolencie, then to paie him, because men had no boundes wherein to staie their ambition. Also, if hee were nowe paid without any seruice done, hee would shortly after make some other dishonest and more perillous request. They therefore thought necessarie to bridle his pride, and not suffer the same to increase till it were incorrigible. If then they, either for feare, or for any other intent would continue him a friend, it stood then vppon to paie him themselves. Thus *Cosimo* returned without other

other conclusion. The *Florentines* notwithstanding laboured, that the Earle should not fall from the League, and indeed very vnwilling he was to depart. Yet the desire he had to conclude his marriage, did hold him doubtfull, so that the least occasion (as after it came to passe) might lose him. The Earle had appointed his Townes in *La Marca* to be guarded by a Captaine called *Furlano*, one of his principall Leaders. Hee hauing beene long sollicited by the Duke, discharged himselfe of the Earles entertainement, and went vnto him: which was the cause, that the Earle, (setting aside all respectes) for feare of himselfe, made peace with the Duke. And among other conditions it was agreed, that in the matters of *Romagna*, and *Toscana*, the Earle shoulde not intermeddle further. After this peace made, the Earle instantlie perswaded the *Florentines* to agree with the *Lucchesi*, and in a sort constrayned them. They therefore seeing none other remedie, yeelded to composition in the moneth of Aprill, 1438. In which agreement, the *Lucchesi* remayned in their libertie, and *Monte Carlo*, with some other Castles, continued in possession of the *Florentines*. Afterwards they lamented throughout all *Italy*, that the *Lucchesi* could not be brought vnder their gouernment. And seldome it happeneth that any man hath bene so greatly greued with losing his owne, as the *Florentines* were, for not hauing gotten that which belonged to others. Although then the *Florentines* were occupied in so great an enterprise, yet were they not forgetfull of their neighbours, nor fayled to furnish their owne Cittie. At that time (as is before sayd) *Nicholo Fortibraccio* (who had married the daughter of the Earle of *Poppi*) was dead. The Earle at the death of *Nicholo*, had in his possession *Borgo A san Sepulcro*, with the fortresse of that Towne, which in the name of his sonne in lawe, during his life hee gouerned. After his death, as the dowrie of his daughter hee held the same, and refused to yeeld that Castle vnto the Pope, who claymed it, as lande belonging to the Church. In so much, as the Pope sente the Patriarke thither with Souldiers to recouer it. The Earle finding himselfe vnable to resist that force, offered the Towne to the *Florentines*, and they refused it. Yet so soone as the Pope returned to *Florence*, they trauelled betwixt him, and the Earle, to make an agreement. Wherein, finding some difficultie, the Patriarke assaulted *Casentino*, and surprized *Prato Vecchio*, and *Ramena*, offering the same likewise to the *Florentines*. But they would not accept it, vnlesse the Pope did firste consent, that they might restore it to the Earle: Wherewith the Pope after much disputation, was contented. Yet so, that the *Florentines* should promise to perswade, that the Earle of *Poppi*, should restore vnto him *Borgo*. The Popes minde by this meanes satisfied, the *Florentines* thought good the Cathedrall Church of their Cittie called *Santa Reparata*, (being long before begun, and now come to such perfection, as diuine Ceremonies might therein be celebrate) to desire his holinesse, that personally he would consecrate the same. Whereunto the Pope willingly consented, and for more magnificence of the Cittie, the Temple, and the Pope, a Tarrace was made, from *Santa Maria Nouella*, where the Pope lay, vnto the Church which he should consecrate, the same being in bredth foure yards, and in height three, and of both sides it was couered with exceeding rich cloth. Vpon this Tarrace, only the Pope with his Court, and the Cittizens especially appointed to attend him did go. All the rest of the Cittizens and people stood in the streets, in their houses, and in the Temple, to behold the same. When all ceremonies belonging to so great a consecration, were finished, the Pope, in token of more loue, honored *Guiliano de Auanzati* with Knight-hood, being at that present *Gonfaloniere de Iustitia*, and in al times accounted a noble &

The Earle
Francesco a-
bandoneth
the Venetians
and Floren-
tines.

The Earle
of Poppi.

notable Citizen, whereunto the *Senate*, to seeme no lesse desirous then the Pope of his aduancement, gaue vnto him the Captaineſhip of *Piſa* for one yeare. About this time, ſome difference grew betwixt the Churches of *Rome* and *Greece*, touching the diuine Seruice. And forasmuch as in the laſt Councell holden at *Baſile*, much had bene ſayd in that matter by the Prelates of the Weſt Church, it was determined by the Emperours, that great diligence ſhould be vſed to vnite them, and was concluded in the Councell of *Baſile*, that prooffe ſhould be made whether the *Gretian* Church might be brought to concurre with that of *Rome*. Albeit this reſolution was contrarie to the maieſtie of the *Gretian* Emperour, and the pride of his Prelates to yeeld vnto the Biſhop of *Rome*, yet the Emperour being oppreſſed by the Turkes, and fearing that the *Gretians* could not be defended by themſelues, the rather alſo to liue in ſecuritie, and be ayded of others, determined to giue place. Then the Emperour accompanied with the Patriarke, the Prelates and Barons of *Greece*, according to the order taken by the Councell of *Baſile*, came vnto *Venice*. Which Cittie being infected with the plague, it was determined, that the matter ſhould be tried in the Cittie of *Florence*. After many dayes of diſputation, betwixt the Prelates of the *Romane* and *Gretian* Churches, the *Gretians* ſubmitted themſelues to the Biſhop of *Rome*. Then was the peace concluded betwixt the *Luccheſi* and the *Florentines*. And was alſo hoped, that the warres betwixt the Duke and the Earle (chiefely in *Lombardy* and *Toſcana*) might eaſily be pacified, becauſe that warre which was begunne in the Kingdome of *Naples*, betwixt *Rnato de Angio*, and *Alfonſo of Arragon*, ſhould of force take end by the ruine of thoſe two. And although the Pope was euill contented for the loſſe of many his Townes, and that therewithall, the great ambition of the Duke and the *Venetians* was apparant, yet euery man ſuppoſed, that the Pope for neceſſitie, and the others for wearineſſe, would lay downe their armes. But the matter came otherwiſe to paſſe, for neither the Duke, nor the *Venetians*, would be quiet. By reaſon whereof, it fell out that they tooke Armes anew, and made warre in the moſt places of *Lombardy* and *Toſcana*. The great minde of the Duke, could not endure that the *Venetians* ſhould poſſeſſe *Bergamo* and *Breſcia*: And the rather, ſeeing them prepared for the warres, and euery day moleſting and diſquieting his Countrey. He therefore thought, that if they might be abandoned by the *Florentines*, and the Earle, he ſhould not onely bridle them, but alſo recouer his owne. To compaſſe that conceipt, he intended to take *Romagna* from the Church, iudging that afterwards the Pope could not offend him. And the *Florentines*, ſeeing the fire at hand, either they would not ſtirre for feare, or if they did, they could not conueniently aſſault him. The Duke alſo knewe the diſpleaſure betwixt the *Florentines* and the *Venetians*, for the matters of *Lucca*, and for that cauſe, ſuppoſed the *Florentines* were the leſſe willing to take Armes for them. As for the Earle *Franceſco*, he thought that the newe friendſhip, and hope of the marriage, ſhould ſuffice to hold him aſſured. Alſo, to flie all offence, and giue the leſſe occaſion to all others to take Armes, and chiefely, for that he was bound by the Capitulations with the Earle, not to aſſault *Romagna*, he cauſed *Nicholo Piccinino* (as thereto moued by his owne ambition) to take that enterpriſe in hand. At ſuch time as the recõciliation was cõcluded betwixt the Duke and the Earle, *Nicholo* remained in *Romagna*, and ſeemed much diſcontent with that new friendſhip made between the ſayd Duke and the Earle his perpetuall enemy. He therefore with his ſouldiers retired to *Camurata* (a place betwixt *Furli* and *Rauenna*) where he fortified himſelfe to remaine, till ſuch time as ſome other reſolution were taken. The fame of his anger being blowne about euery where,

Nicholo

The Gretian Church ſubmitteth to the Church of Rome.

New troubles in Lombardy and Toſcana.

Nicholo gaue the Pope to vnderstand of his well deseruing of the Duke, and with what ingratitude he was requited. He also alleaged, that the Duke through the helpe of principall Captaines, had wonne all the souldiers of *Italy* to be at his commaundement. Notwithstanding, if his holinesse were so pleased, he could procure, that of these two Captaines, the one should prooue enemy to the Duke, and the other improfitable. For accomplishment whereof, if money were prepared, and the warres continued, he would so assault the Earle, who had surprized the townes belonging to the Church, as he should haue ynough to defend his owne, and not be able to follow the ambition of *Philippo*. The Pope gaue credit to these words, seeming to him reasonable, and sent vnto *Nicholo* five thousand Duckets, with many faire promises, offering to giue lands to him, and his sonnes. And although the Pope were diuerse wayes aduertised of this deceit, yet he beleued well, and was not content to heare any thing to the contrarie. The Cittie of *Rauenna* was then gouerned for the Pope by *Octacio de Polenta*. *Nicholo* thinking good, not to deferre his enterprise (because his sonne had already with the ignomie of the Pope sacked *Spoletto*) determined to assault *Rauenna*: (either because he iudged the enterprise easie, or that he had some secret intelligence with *Octacio*) within few dayes he tooke the Towne by composition, and shortly after *Bologna*, *Imola*, and *Furli*, were by him surprized. Also (as a thing more meruailous) of twentie Castles which were in those countries holden for the Pope, there was not one that refused to yeeld vnto *Nicholo*. Neither did it suffice him with this iniurie to offend the Pope, but he would also to these deeds mock and deride him in words: Writing vnto the Pope, that vpon iust cause his Townes were surprized, because he had broken the friendship betwixt the Duke and him: and written letters to many places of *Italy*, signifying, that he (the Earle) had abandoned the Duke, and ioyned with the *Venetians*. *Nicholo* thus possessing *Romagna*, left the same in charge to his sonne *Francesco*, and himselfe with the greater part of his army went into *Lombardy*. Where ioyning with the remaine of the Dukes forces, he assayed the Countrey of *Brescia*, which in short space he tooke, and besieged the Cittie. The Duke, who desired that the *Venetians* should be left for him as a pray, excused himselfe to the Pope, to the *Florentines*, and to the Earle: declaring, that those things which had bene done in *Romagna* by *Nicholo*, if they were contrarie to the Capitulations, they were likewise contrarie to his will. Moreouer, by secret messengers he gaue them to vnderstand, that for his disobedience (as occasion and time should suffer) he would finde meanes to haue him punished. The *Florentines* and the Earle gaue no credit thereunto, but beleued (as in deede the truth was) that these warres were made to hold them occupied, till such time as he might oppresse the *Venetians*: who, being full of pride, and beleeuing they could by themselves resist the Dukes forces, did not vouchsafe to demaund aid of any man, but with *Gatamelata* their Captaine, made warre alone. The Earle *Francesco* with the fauour of the *Florentines*, intended to haue gone to the aide of King *Rinuto*, if the accidents of *Romagna* and *Lombardy* had not withholden him. And the *Florentines* would also willingly haue fauoured that enterprise, for the ancient friendship betwene them, and the house of *Fraunce*. But the one and the other of those, being occupied in the warres neere at hand, refrained to attempt any enterprise further off. The *Florentines* then seeing *Romagna* surprized by the Dukes forces, and the *Venetians* assaulted (as those that by the ruine of others did feare their owne) desired the Earle to come into *Toscana*, there to consider what was to be done to encounter the forces of the Duke, which were greater then euer they had bene. Affirming, that if his insolencie were not by some meanes bridled, euery man that gouerned any part of *Italy*,

The Popes
countrey
spoiled by
Ni. Piccinino.

Gatamelata
Generall for
the Venetians.

should within short space be oppressed. The Earle knew well that the *Florentines* had reason to feare: Notwithstanding, the desire he had to proceed in the marriage with the Dukes daughter, did make him suspected. And the Duke knowing his desire, gaue him great hope thereof, if he would refuse to take armes against him. And because the Dukes daughter was alreadie marriageable, the matter was brought to this ripenesse, that all things for the purpose were prepared. Notwithstanding, with diuerse cauillations, the marriage day was delayed, yet by words to hold the Earle in hope, some deeds were performed: and to that end thirtiethousand Florins (according to the Articles agreed vpon for the marriage) were sent vnto him, notwithstanding the warre of *Lombardy* increased, and the *Venetians* euery day lost some Towne or other. Also, all the vessels for the warres, which they sent into the Riüers, were by the Dukes Souldiers taken. The Countries of *Verona*, and *Brescia*, were all spoiled: and both those Citties so straightly besieged, as in the common opinion, it was hard for them to be many dayes defended. The Marquesse of *Mantoua*, who had bene many yeares Generall for that State, beyond all expectation had abandoned them, and was ioyned with the Duke; so as that which in the beginning of the warres their pride suffered not, afterwards feare inforced them to do. For knowing none other remedie but the friendship of the *Florentines*, and the Earle, they began to speake them faire, though shamefully, and with suspition, bicause they feared least the *Florentines* would make them the same answere, which they at the enterprise of *Lucca*, and in the Earles cause had receiued at their hands. Neuerthelesse, they found the *Florentines* more easily intreated, then either they hoped, or their deserts did merit. For greater was the *Florentines* hate to a friend become a foe, then the displeasure they bare to an old and auncient enemy. They hauing long before knowne the necessitie whereunto the *Venetians* would fall, declared to the Earle, that their ruine would be also his: and that hee deceiued himselfe, if hee beleued the Duke *Philippo* would esteeme him so much in his good, as his euill fortune. For the occasion why the Duke offered his daughter vnto him, was the feare wherein he stood: and sith things promised by necessitie, are neuer performed without necessitie, it behoued him still to hold the Duke distressed, which without the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, could not be done. Therefore, hee ought to thinke, that if the *Venetians* were forced to abandon their Countrey vpon the firme land, he should not onely want those commodities which he receiued by them, but also all others, which of other men for feare of them he might attaine vnto. And if hee considered well the other states of *Italy*, he should finde some of them poore, and some others his enemies. Neither were the *Florentines* alone (as hee had often sayd) of force sufficient to mainteine him. So as, on euery side it appeared, that for him it was necessarie, to mainteine the *Venetians* mightie vpon the land. These perswasions ioyned with the hate which the Earle had conceiued of the Duke, for being mocked in the marriage, caused him consent to the composition, yet would hee not at that time be bound to passe the Riuer of *Po*. These compositions were made in the moneth of February, the yeare 1438. Wherein, the *Venetians* did couenant to defraie two thirds, and the *Florentines* one third of the charge. And both of them together at their common charge, entred obligation to defend the lands which the Earle had woon in *La Marca*. Neither was this League contented with these forces, but vnto them they ioyned the Lord of *Faenza*, the sonnes of *Pandolfo Malatesta* of *Rimini*, and *Pietro Giampagolo Orsino*. And although with great promises they had perswaded the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, yet

Perswasions
of the Venetians and Florentines, to the Earle not to abandon them.

yet could they not remoue him from the friendship and paic of the Duke. Also the Lord of *Faenza*, after that the League was settled, finding a better bargaine, reuolted to the Duke, which depriued the League of hope, to be able to performe the enterprises entended in *Romagna*. In these dayes, *Lombardy* remained thus troubled, *Brescia* was besieged with the Dukes forces, so straightly as euerie day was feared that for famine it should be forced to yeeld. And *Verona* became so inuironed with enemies, that it doubted the like end, and if any of these two Cities were lost, euery man iudged all the other preparation for the wars would be to no effect, and the charges till that time made, vtterly lost. Neither was there found any other certaine remedy, then to procure, that the Earle *Francesco* might passe into *Lombardy*: Wherein were three difficulties, the one in perswading the Earle to passe the Riuer of *Po*, and make warre in all places. The second, that the *Florentines* seemed to be at the discretion of the Duke, if the Earle should goe from them. The third was, what way the Earle with his forces should take, to conuey himselfe into the country of *Padoa*, where the rest of the *Venetians* forces remained. Of these three difficulties, the second which appertained to the *Florentines*, was most to be doubted. Notwithstanding they knowing the necessitie, and being weary of the *Venetians*, who with all importunitie desired the Earle, (saying that without him, they should be abandoned) they preferred the necessitie of others before the suspition of themselues. There remained also one other doubt, which way they should go, and how the same might be made assured by the *Venetians*. Moreouer, because the handling of this contract with the Earle, and the perswading him to passe the Riuer *Po*, was appointed to *Neri*, the sonne of *Gino Cappeni*, the *Senate* thought good to send him expressly to *Venice*, to make that fauoure the more acceptable there, and to take order for the way, and safe passage of the Earle. Then was *Neri* dispatched from *Cesena*, and in a Boate conueyed to *Venice*: where, by the *Senate* hee was receiued with more honour, then euer any Prince before that time had bene. For vpon his comming, and that which by him should be determined, they thought the welfare of their dominion depended. *Neri* then being brought to presence of the *Senate*, spake as followeth. Most Noble Prince, my Lords who haue sent mee, were hitherto euer of opinion, that the greatnesse of the Duke, would be the ruine both of this state and of their own Common-weale. So that, the well doing of these states, must be your greatnesse, and ours also. If this had bene by your Lordships beleened, we should be now in better condition, and your state assured from those perils, which presently do threaten it. But because that in time conuenient, you haue neither giuen vs ayd, nor countenance, we could not readily procure remedie for your harmes, nor you, speedily demaund it: as men which both in aduersitie and prosperitie knew not how to behaue your selues; forgetting that we are of such disposition, as whom we once loue, we will loue euer; and whom we hate, we will hate euer. The good will which we haue euer borne to this most Noble *Senate*, your selues do know, and haue oftentimes scene, by the aide we haue giuen you both in mony and men. The displeasure which we haue borne to *Philippo*, is such, as we will alwaies beare towards his house, and so the world knoweth. Neither is it possible that auncient hatred, can be either by new desertes or new displeasures cancelled. We were and are assured, that in this war, we might with great honour haue stood indifferent to the Duke, and with no great daunger to our selues. For though he had bene by your ruine become Lord of *Lombardy*, yet had there remained so much force in *Italy*, as we need not to haue dispaired of our well doing, because he encreasing in state and power, the enmitie, & enuie towards him would haue also encreased. Of which two things, warre and displeasure be engendred. We knew also how great charges by eschuing this war, we should haue auoyded, how

The Oration
of Neri Cap-
poni, to the
Senate of Ve-
nice.

eminent

eminent perils we should haue escaped: and how this warre, by our meanes might be remoued from *Lombardy* into *Toscana*. Notwithstanding all these suspitions haue bene, by our auncient affection borne to your state, cancelled: and we haue determined to aide you, with the same readie good will, wherewith we will defend our own, if the same should be assaulted. Wherfore my Lords, iudging it before all other things most necessarie, to succour *Verona* and *Brescia*, and thinking also that without the Earle the same could not be, they haue sent me hither, first to periwade him to come into *Lombardy*, and make war in all places: he being heretofore (as you know) bound not to passe the Riuer of *Po*. Therefore I vled with him those reasons, wherewith we our selues be moued. And he, (as he seemeth) by Armes inuincible, wil not be ouercome with curtesie. And that liberallitie which he sawe vs vse towards you, he hath bene pleased to surpasse the same. For knowing well in how great perils, after his departure, *Toscana* remained, and seeing that we haue more regarded your perill, then our owne well doing; is also content to preferre the same, before his owne. I am therefore now come here, to offer you the Earle with seuen thousand horse, and two thousand foote men; readie to assault the enimie in what place soeuer he may finde him. I beseech you then, (and my Lords also do intreate you) that as the number of his souldiers is greater then his obligation, wherby he bound himself to serue, so it may please you, that your liberallitie towards him may be likewise enlarged. To the end, that neither he shall repent his comming to your seruice, nor we be sorie to haue perswaded him thereunto. This speech pronounced by *Neri*, was with no lesse attention heard of the *Senate*, then if from the mouth of some Oracle, the same had proceeded. For by his words all the audience was so moued, that they would not suffer the Prince (as is the custome) to make any answer: But euerie man stood vp, and many of them weeping for ioy, held vp their hands, thanking the *Florentines* for so friendly an offer, and him, for hauing with so great diligence and speede performed the same. Promising moreouer, neuer to forget that fauoure, nor that any time, either in themselues or in their posterie, should cancell the memorie of this merite. And that their Common-weale, should be as much at the *Florentines* commandement, as their owne. These curtesies and congratulations ended, they consulted what way the Earle might march, to the end, that the bridges and passages should be prepared. Foure waies were then thought vpon wherby he might passe. The one from *Rauenna*, by the sea side: which being narrow and full of marishes, was not liked. An other was by the direct way, which being impeached by a Fortresse called *Vcellino*, kept for the Duke, the same ought to be surprized before the Armie should march further; which was heard to do in so short a time, vnlesse the occasion of the enterprise were omitted, the same requiring great diligence and speede. The third was by the wood of *Lago*, where because the Riuer of *Po* was ouerflowed, to passe that way, seemed not onely hard, but also impossible. The fourth was by the Champion of *Bologna*, from thence to *Pante Pulidrano*, to *Cento*, through *Finale*, and *Bondeno*, and so to *Farrara*: From whence by water and land, they might be conueyed into *Padouana*, there to ioyne with the *Venetian* forces. In this way, albeit there was manie difficulties, and might by the enimie, in some places be impeached: yet was it thought the best of all others. Whereof the Earle aduertised, with great speed began his iourney, and on the twentieth of Iune, arriued in *Padouana*. The comming of this Captaine into *Lombardy*, made *Venice*, and all the countrie thereto belonging, in great hope. For as they seemed before to dispaire, now they began to hope, not onely to hold their owne, but also to win from others. The Earle first of all went to the rescue of *Verona*, and the rather to meete with *Nicholo*, and his Armie he marched to *Soane*, a Castle builded betwixt *Vicentino* & *Veronesi*, and inuironed by a dicke: which

reached

reached from *Soane* to the marish of *Adice*. The Earle seeing his passage by the plaine stopped, thought to passe by the mountaines, and by that way to come neare to *Verona*; Supposing *Nicholo* did not thinke, that he would take that way being vnpleasant & mountanous: or if he did, he could not in time come thither to impeach him. Wherefore being prouided of victuals for eight daies, hee and his men passed the mountaine and arriued vnder *Soane*, in the plaine. Where, albeit some bulwarks had bene made by *Nicholo*, yet were they not such as staid his passage. *Nicholo* then seeing the enemye aboute his expectation come thither, fearing to fight vpon disadvantage, retired himselfe on the other side of *Adice*: and the Earle without anie obstacle, entred into *Verona*. Thus the Earle hauing performed the first enterprize, which was to remoue the siege, the second yet remained, to rescue *Brescia*. This Citie is so seated vpon the riuer of *Garda*, the scite wherof is such, that though it be besieged by land, yet may it be victualled by water: which was the cause, why the Duke put so great forces vpon that Lage, and in the beginning of his victories, had surprized all those townes which by the Lage could relieue *Brescia*. The *Venetians* had also Gallies vpon the Lage, but they were not of power inough to fight with the Dukes forces. The Earle therefore thought fit with some more souldiers to strengthen the Nauie, and win those townes which withheld the vittails from *Brescia*. He therefore brought his Campe before *Bandolino*, a Castle vpon the Lage, hoping if that were wonne, the rest would presently yeeld. In that enterprize fortune disfaoured the Earle, for the greatest number of his men fell sicke: so as, leauing the enterprize, hee went vnto *Zeno*, a castle belonging to *Verona*, where the country is plentiful, & the aire wholesome. *Nicholo* seeing the Earle retired: not to omit occasion to possesse himselfe of the Lage, left his Campe at *Vegatio*, and with some choise men went vnto the Lage. There, with great furie, he assaulted the *Venetian* Armie, & tooke welneare all their Gallies. After this victory, almost al the Castles vpon the Lage, yeelded vnto *Nicholo*. The *Venetians* dismaid at this his losse, and fearing therby, that they of *Brescia* would yeeld also, sollicited the Earle, both by Letters and Messengers, to make speed to succour it. But the Earle seeing that by the Lage there was no hope to relieue it, & by land it was impossible, by reason of ditches, bulwarkes, and trenches, made by *Nicholo*, so as, whosoever should enter, must go to present destruction; determined to prouethe way of the mountains: wherby, as he had before saued *Verona*, so he hoped perhaps to rescue *Brescia*. The Earle for the atchiuing thereof, departed from *Zeno*, and by the *Vale* of *Acrine*, marched to the Lage of *S. Andrea*, and came to *Torboli*, and *Penda*, vpon the Lage of *Garda*. From thence he went to *Tenna*, and there pitched his Campe: because, to passe from thence to *Brescia*, it behooued him to surprize that Castle. *Nicholo* vnderstanding the intent of the Earle, brought his Armie to *Pischiera*: and after with the Marquesse of *Mantowa*, and some of his owne choise souldiers, marched towards the Earle, and fighting together, *Nicholo* was ouerthrowne. Some part of his men were taken prisoners, an other part, retired to the Armie, & the third part, fled to the Nauie. *Nicholo* then, retired himselfe into *Tenna*, and the night being come, imagined he could not escape from thence, if he tarried til the next day. Wherefore to eschue that perill certaine, he aduentured a daunger doubtfull. *Nicholo* had amongst many his seruants one *Almaine*, a man of great strength, and to him aboute others, euer most faithfull. *Nicholo* perswaded this man, that if hee would put him into a sacke, he might vpon his shoulders (as though he were some other thing) carry him to some place, from whence he might escape. At this time the Campe yet remained about *Tenna*. Neuerthelesse, by meanes of the victorie the day before, no great order or watch was taken, so that this *Almaine*, the more easily might conuey his maister. Wherefore taking him vpon his shoulders, (as though he were some other

The Campe
of *Nicholo*
Piccinino de-
feated.

Nicholo Piccinino, desirous to recover his honor.

other burthen, himselfe being apparelled like a Porter) he passed through the Camp without any let, and so saved his maister. This victorie, if it had bene well vsed, as it was happily wonne, had much better releued *Brescia*: and the *Venetians* thereby should haue proued more happie. But the same being euill vsed, the ioy thereof was the lesse; and *Brescia* remained in the same distresse that it was before. For *Nicholo* hauing recouered souldiers, determined with them some new victorie, to blot out the dishonour of the late losse, and take from the *Venetians* the meane whereby they should rescue *Brescia*. He hauing intelligence from some prisoners taken in that war, that the *Cittadell* of *Verona* was weakely manned and guarded; so as, easily it might be surprized: thought that Fortune thereby had offered an occasion to recover his honour; and that the new ioy of his enemy, for the late victorie, should now for a later losse, be conuerted into sorrow. The Citie of *Verona* is in *Lombardy*, seated at the foote of those mountaines which diuide *Italy* from *Germany*: and is so builded, as it partaketh both of the mountaines and the plaine. The Riuer of *Adice* springeth out of the *Vale* of *Trento*, and in the course thereof to *Italy*, it descendeth not straight into the plaine, but turneth on the left hand, and passeih by the midst of that Cittie. Yet the one part of the Citie towards the plaine, is greater then the other part towards the mountaines. Vpon these be built two Fortresses, the one called *S. Piero*, and the other *S. Felice*; which seeme more strong by nature of the seate, then the thicknesse of the wall. For being set high, they commaund the whole Citie. In the plain on this side the *Adice*, are ioyning to the wall of the towne, two other Fortresses, the one distant from the other a thousand paces, one of them is named the newe *Cittadella*, and the other the old *Cittadella*. From the one of these within, there passeth a wall to the other, and is in respect of the compasse, as it were a string to a bowe. All this space betwixt the one wall and the other is inhabited, and called *Borgo di San Zeno*. These Fortresses, and this *Borgo*, *Nicholo Piccinino* intended to surprize, thinking the same easie, as well for the negligence of the guard therein, as the small care had thereof, by meanes of the late victory. For he knew well, that in the warre there is no enterprise so easily performed, as is that, which the enemy feareth not. Hee therefore making choise of his men, being acquainted with the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, in the night marched to *Verona*, and not being there looked for, scaled the walles, and wanne the new *Cittadell*. From thence he sent his men into the towne, who brake the gate of *S. Antonio*: and thereby all his horsemen entred. Those that for the *Venetians* kept the old *Cittadell*, hearing first a noyse when the guard of the first *Cittadell* was slaine, and after when the gates were broken open: knew well that enemies were come, made Alarum, rung Belles, and stirred vp the people. Whereof the Citizens taking knowledge, came out in a confused sort: those that were of most courage, tooke Armes and went vnto the Pallace of the *Rettore*. In the meane while, *Nicholo* had sacked *Borgo* of *S. Zeno*. Then going forward, the Citizens knowing that the Dukes souldiers were within the towne, and seeing no way to resist them, perswaded the *Venetians* *Rettore* to flee to the Fortresse, thereby to saue their persons, and the towne: saying it was better to preferue their liues, and the riches of the citie, till a time more fortunate; then for the encountring of the present furie, to die themselves, and vtterly impouerish the citie. Then the *Rettore*, and all other *Venetians* whatsoever, fled into the Fortresse of *S. Felice*. Which done, many of the chiefe Citizens came to *Nicholo* and to the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, beseeching, that it would please them, to take that citie with honour, as it was rich, rather then with their shame, to suffer it to be made poore and spoyled. And therather, because they had neither deserued well of their chiefe Lords, nor in defence of the town merited any mallice of *Nicholo* or the Marquesse. Then were they, both by *Nicholo* & the Marquesse comforted, and (as much

Verona surprized by *Nicholo Piccinino*.

as in furie of the warre might possibly be) defended from the spoyle. *Nicholo* thinking assuredly, that the Earle would come to recover the Towne, laboured by euerie meane to get into his hands all the strong places; and those which hee could not get, with trenches and ditches were diuided from the Towne: to the end, that the enemy should passe in with more difficultie. The Earle *Francesco* was with his men at *Tenna*, and hearing those newes, at the first thought the same vnttrue, but after being better aduertised of the truth, thought good by speedie proceeding, to amend his former negligence. And albeit his chiefe Captaines of the Campe, did counsell him to leaue the enterprize of *Verona* and *Brescia*, and go to *Vicenza*, for not being besieged of the enemy during his aboad there; yet would hee not be perswaded by them, but in any wise trie his fortune to recover that cittie: and in the midst of these doubtfull imaginations, promised the *Proneditore* of *Venice*, and *Barnardo de Medici*, the *Florentine* Generall, certainly to recover the cittie, if any of the Fortresses did remaine vntaken till he came thither. Then giuing order for his iourney, he with his souldiers in great haste marched towards *Verona*. Whom, *Nicholo* seeing, thought good, as he had bene counsell'd by his Captaines, to go to *Vicenza*. Yet finding that the enemies marched towards the Towne, directing their course to *S. Felice*, he determined to defend that Fort: but all too late, because the trenches about the Castle were not finished, and the souldiers (for couetousnesse of the spoyle) were diuided among themselues, so that he could not come thither soone inough. For the Earles souldiers had before approached the Fortresse, and from thence with good successe and dishonour of *Nicholo*, recovered the cittie. Who together with the Marquesse of *Mantoua* fled first to the *Cittadell*, and from thence, to *Mantoua*. Where assembling the remaine of their saued souldiers, they ioyned with the others, that besieged *Brescia*. Thus was *Verona* in foure daies by the Dukes Army, both wonne and lost. The Earle after this victorie (being at that time winter, and the cold great) had with much difficultie victualled *Brescia*, and went to remain in *Verona*: giuing order, that certaine Gallies should tarry that winter at *Torbali*, to the end, that at the spring of the next yeare, he might be strong both by sea and land for the rescue of *Brescia*. The Duke seeing the warre for that time staid, and his hope to surprize *Verona* & *Brescia* remooued, wherof the Councell, and the money of the *Florentines* was the occasion, and that they could not be altered from the loue of the *Venetians*, for any iniurie they had receiued of them, nor for any promise he could make them; determined (to the end they should shortly reape fruite of those seedes they had sowne) to assault *Toscana*: being therto encouraged by the banished men of *Florence*, and by *Nicholo*. *Nicholo* was thereto moued with the desire he had to winne the possessions of *Braccio*, and driue the Earle out of *La Marca*. And the *Florentines* desired to returne to their Country. So either of these, with reasons according to their owne desire, perswaded the Duke. *Nicholo* tolde him, that himselfe might be sent into *Toscana*, and *Brescia* might neuerthelessse be still besieged; for the Duke was Lorde of the Lage, and had the strong places belonging to the Towne well furnished: the Captaines there remaining, and men inough to encounter the Earle whensoever he should attempt any other enterprize; which without the rescue of *Brescia* hee could not, and to rescue it; was impossible. So that he might make war in *Toscana*, and yet not leaue the enterprize in *Lombardy*. Hee told him moreouer, that the *Florentines* were enforced so soone as he came into *Toscana*, to reuoke the Earle, or else lose it: so that if any of these two things came to passe, the victorie would follow. The banished men alledged, that if *Nicholo* with his Army did drawe neare to *Florence*, it was impossible but that the people (being wearie of charges, and the insolency of the great men) would take Armes against the Governours. They shewed also how easie it was to approach

Verona recovered by the Earle Francesco.

The Duke perswaded by Nicholo and the banished Florentines, to assault Toscana.

approach *Florence*, promising to make the way open through *Casentino*, by meanes of the friendship which *Rinaldo* had with that Earle. Thus the Duke, first disposed of himselfe, and after confirmed by perswasions of these men, resolved vpon this enterprise. The *Venetians* on the other part, notwithstanding the bitteresse of the winter, failed not to call vpon the Earle with all his forces to succor *Brescia*. Which the Earle answered could not be in that time done, but of force it must tarrie the spring of the yeare: and in the mean time prepare an Army by water, so as both by water and land it might at time conuenient be releued. Hereupon the *Venetians* became sorie and flow in all their prouisions, which was the caue that in their Army many people died. Of all these things the *Florentines* being aduertised, began to mistrust: seeing the warre at hand, and no great good done in *Lombardy*. The suspition also which they had of the Popes souldiers, did greatly perplex them: not because the Pope was their enemy, but for that they sawe those souldiers more obedient to the Patriarke, their mortall foe, more then to the Pope himselfe. *Giuanni Vittelleschi Cornetano*, was first Notarie Apostolicall, after Bishop of *Ricanati*, then Patriark of *Alessandria*, and at length after all these dignities, become Cardinall, & was called the Cardinall of *Florence*. This Cardinall being a man both couragious and craftie, & such a one, as was by the Pope so greatly beioued, as thereby he became Generall of all the forces belonging to the Church: and was Captaine in all enterprises that the Pope tooke in hand, either in *Toscana*, *Romagna*, the Kingdome, or the Citie of *Rome*. Whereby he wonne such reputation among the people, and so great authoritie vnder the Pope, that the Pope himselfe stood in doubt how to commaund him, and the people did onely obey him, and no other. At such time as the newes came, that *Nicholo* would passe into *Toscana*, this Cardinall with his company happened to be at *Rome*: whereby the *Florentines* feare was doubled, because that Cardinall after the banishment of *Rinaldo*, had euer bene enemy to *Florence*: for that the pacification among the factions of *Florence* made by his meanes, were not obserued, but all things done to the prejudice of *Rinaldo*, who had bene the occasion that Armes were laid down, which gaue his enemies good means to banish him. Then the Governours of the state, imagined the time come to restore *Rinaldo* of his losses, if with *Nicholo* (being come into *Toscana*) they ioyned their forces: but therof they doubted the more by the vntimely departure of *Nicholo* from *Lombardy*, who left there an enterprise halfe wonne, to begin an other more doubtfull: which he would not do, without some new intelligence, and secret subtiltie. Of this their mistrust they had enformed the Pope, who knew his owne error in giuing to an other ouermuch authoritie. But when the *Florentines* stood thus doubtfull what to do, Fortune found then a meane, whereby to assure the Patriarke. That state, in those times maintained diligent espials, to discover what Letters were brought too and fro, and thereby conceiued, if any thing were practised to the prejudice thereof. It happened that at *Monte Pulliciano*, some Letters were taken, which the Patriarke without consent of the Pope, wrote vnto *Nicholo Piccinino*. Those Letters by the Generall of the warre, were presently sent vnto the Pope; And although they were written in Carets vnused, so as no certaine sence could be made of them: yet this obscuritie, together with the practise of the enemy, bred so great suspition in the Pope, as he determined to assure himselfe. The charge of this action he committed to *Antonio Rido* of *Padoua*, being then Captaine of the Castle in *Rome*. *Rido* hauing receiued this Commission, was readie to obey the Popes commandement, aspecting an opportunitie to performe the same. The Patriarke being determined to goe into *Toscana*, and minding the next day to depart from *Rome*, desired the Captaine *Rido* to attend for him in the morning vpon the Castle Bridge, at such time as hee should passe that way. *Antonio Rido* thought then a good

The Patriarke
of *Alessandria*
Generall for
the Pope.

The Pa. friend
to *Rinaldo*
de *Albizi*.

The pope see-
keth to depose
the Patriarke.

good occasion was presented : and gaue order to his men what to do , tarrying for the comming of the Patriarke, vppon the Bridge, which way of necessitie he must passe, hard by the Castle. So soone as hee was arriued vppon that part , which vsed to be drawne vp, *Rido* gaue his men a signe to drawe the Bridge and shut the Patriarke into the Castle, which was performed. So as of a Generall to the Armie, the Patriarke was become a prisoner in the Castle. The people that followed him, at the first murmured, but vnderstanding the Popes pleasure, pacified themselves. The Captaine did comfort him with curteous wordes, and perswaded him to hope well. To whome the Patriarke aunswered, that great personages were not wont first to be apprehended, and after set at libertie. For those that deserue imprisonment, did not merite to bee enlarged, and so shortly after died in prison. After his death, the Pope appointed Generall of his Armie, *Lodouico* Patriarke of *Aquilea*. Who albeit before that time would not intermeddle with the warre, betwixt the League and the Duke; yet was then content to take the same in hande : promising to be readie to defende *Toscana* with foure thousande Horse, and two thousande footemen. The *Florentines* deliuered of this feare, stood yet in doubt of *Nicholo*, and mistrusted the confusion of matters in *Lombardy*, by reason of the diuersitie of opinions betwixt the *Venetians* and the Earle. Wherefore, to bee more fullie aduertised, of their mindes, they sent *Neri* the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, and *Guiliano de Auanzati*, to *Venice*. Whom they gaue in Commission, to determine in what sorte the Warre shoulde bee made the next yeare following. Commaunding *Neri*, that so soone as hee vnderstoode the mindes and opinions of the *Venetians*, hee shoulde goe vnto the Earle, to knowe his; and perswade him to those thinges, which for the welfare of the League shoulde bee thought meete and necessarie. These Embassadours beeing in their iourney not so farre as *Farrara*, had intelligence, that *Nicholo Piccinino* with sixe thousande horse was passed the *Po*. Which newes moued them to make the more speede. Being arriued at *Venice*, they found the Senate fully determined, that *Brescia* without any delaie should be rescued, because, that Cittie, could neither tarry vnreleued till the next Spring, nor till the Nauie by water were prepared; but should be inforced for want of aide, to yeelde vnto the enemy: which would make the Duke victorious, and occasion the losse of all their state, vpon the firme land. *Neri* therefore went from thence to *Verona*, to heare what the Earle could alledge to the contrary. Who by many reasons declared, that for the present, it were no furtherance, but rather an impeachment of the enterprize to march towards *Brescia*. For, considering the season of the yeare, and the seate of the Cittie, no good could be done, but great disorder, and to the souldiers great trouble would follow thereof. So that, when the Spring should be come, and the season fit for the action, the Army must be enforced to returne to *Verona*, for prouision of those things, which the winter had consumed. By reason whereof, all the time fit for warre, should be spent in going and returning. There was sent to *Verona* with the Earle for the consultation of these matters, *Orsato Giustiniani*, and *Giouan Pisani*. With these Commissioners after much disputation, it was concluded, that the *Venetians* should giue vnto the Earle for the next yeare to come, fourescore thousand Duckettes, and to euerie one of his souldiers, fortie. And that they should sollicite the Earle to march with his whole Armie, and assault the Duke. To the ende, that hee, for feare of his owne countrey should be forced to reuoke *Nicholo* into *Lombardy*. After which conclusion, the Embassadours returned to *Venice*. *Nicholo Piccinino* in this meane space proceeded in his iourney, & was arriued at *Romagna*: where he perswaded so far with the sonnes of *Pandolpho Malatesta*, that they

The Patriarke
made prisoner

Resolution of
the League,
against the
Duke.

abandoned the *Venetians*, and ioyned with the Duke. These newes were displeasent to the *Venetians*, and much more displeasent to the *Florentines*, because they hoped by that way to haue resisted *Nicholo*. But seeing the *Malatesti* rebelled, they were thereat amazed, and the more, for the feare they had that *Giampagolo Orsino*, their Captaine, (who at that time was in the countrey of *Malatesti*) it could be defeated, and they so disarmed. These occurrents also dismayed the Earle, fearing to lose *La Marca*, if *Nicholo* passed into *Toscana*. And intending to goe vnto the rescue of his owne, came first to *Venice*, where he declared vnto the Prince, that his comming into *Toscana*, was improfitable for the League. Because the warre was euer to be made, where the Armie and Generall of the enemye is, and not where their Townes are, or their priuate Garrisons. For if the Armie bee ouerthrowne the warre is ended: but though the Townes be wonne, and the Armie be left whole, the warres for the most part becommeth more liuely. Then hee enformed him, that *La Marca* and *Toscana* were lost, if good resistance were not made against *Nicholo*. Of which losse, *Lombardy* had no remedie. Or if it had, hee meant not to abandon his owne subiects and friendes. For, being come a Lorde into *Lombardy*, hee would not depart thence, as a priuate Captaine. Heereunto the Prince answered, it was a thing most manifest, that if he did goe from *Lombardy*, and with his Armie repasse the *Po*, that all their state vpon the firme land, should be lost, and that they would not spend any more vpon the defence therof. For it were follie, to defend a thing, which by no meane could be holden. And lesse dishonour it were to lose the countries onely, then to lose the country and their money also. But if it should so fall out, that these things were lost, it should thereby appeare how greatly it stood the *Venetians* vpon, to defende *Toscana* and *Romagna*. They were therefore altogether contrarie to his opinion, for they beleued that whosoeuer were victorious in *Lombardy*, could also haue victorie in all other places. And it was easie to haue the victorie, because the Duke and his country was become weake by the departure of *Nicholo*: so as hee might be oppressed, before that either hee could reuoke *Nicholo*, or be provided of other remedie. Moreouer, who so wisely considereth all things, should see, that the Duke had sent *Nicholo* into *Toscana*, to no other end, then to remooue the Earle from those enterprises, & make that war in other places, which hee now had at home. So that in pursuing him (if before hee found no extreame necessitie) hee should execute that which he had in hand, and be owner of his intent. But if the men of warre were still employed both in *Lombardy* and in *Toscana*, howsoeuer it came to passe, hee should ouerlate finde his ouersight, and in time see that without remedie hee had losse *Lombardy*, and gained nothing in *Toscana*. Thus euerie one hauing said and replied according to his opinion, it was concluded, that a staie for a fewe dayes should be made, to see what effect the agreement betwixt the *Malatesti* and *Nicholo* would bring foorth: and whether the *Florentines* could imploy *Giampagolo*: and whether the Pope did faithfully deale with the League, as hee had promised. This conclusion made, shortly after they were aduertised, that the *Malatesti* had condescended to the agreement, rather for feare, then any euill intent: and that *Pietro Giampagolo* with his souldiers, were marched towardes *Toscana*, and the Pope was more willing to aide the League, then before time hee had bene. These aduertisements satisfied the Earles minde. So as he became contented that himselfe might remaine in *Lombardy*: and *Nery Capponi* shoulde returne to *Florence*, with a thousande of his Horse, and five hundreth others. And if it did so fall out in *Toscana*, that the presence of the Earle were there needfull and necessarie, that then hee shoulde wryte vnto him, and the Earle (without any respect)

The speech of
the Earle Frã.
cesco to the
Senate of Ve-
nice.

The Veneti-
ans answer to
the Earle.

Resolution of
the Venetians
with the Earle
Francesco.

respect) be dispatched thither. *Neri* with his forces arrived at *Florence*, in the month of *Aprill*. And the same day, *Giampagolo* came thither. In the meane time *Nicholo Piccinino* hauing settled all things in *Romagna*, determined to come into *Toscana*, and desiring to passe by the *Alpes* of *S. Benedetto*, and the *Vale* of *Montone*, found those places by the vertue of *Nicholo de Pisa*, so well defended, that hee thought all his power too little. Moreouer, because the *Florentines* were not well furnished either of Captaines or souldiers, for this suddaine assault, they had sent diuerse Citizens to the passages of those *Alpes*, with footemen leuied in haste, for that purpose. Amongst whome was *Bartholomeo Orlandini*: and to him was appointed the keeping of the Castle of *Marradi*, with the passage of those *Alpes*. *Nicholo Piccinino* supposing hee could not goe by *S. Benedetto* for the vertue of him that defended that way, yet thought hee it easie to passe by the other which *Bartholomeo* kept: perswaded thereto by the cowardice of that Captaine. *Marradi* is a Castle built at the foote of those *Alpes*, which diuide *Toscana* from *Romagna*. But on that side which is towardes *Romagna*, in the beginning of the *Vale* of *Lamona*, although it bee without walles, yet the Riuer, the Mountaine, and the inhabitants of the countrey doo make it strong. For the men be warlike and faithfull. The Riuer hath also worne into the lande, and made so deepe caues and places, as it is impossible to approach it by that *Vale*, so long as one little Bridge bee defended. And on that side towardes the Mountaines, the shoare is so steepe as maketh it most assured. Notwithstanding, the cowardice of *Bartholomeo* was such, as made those people become base minded, and the seate to seeme of no force at all. For so soone as the noyse of the enemye was heard, hee abandoned his charge, and with his souldiers fledde away, neuer staying till hee came to *Borgo S. Lorenzo*. *Nicholo* entered into the places abandoned, much maruelling that they were not better defended. And being glad of that hee had gotten, came downe into *Mugello*, where hee surprized some Castles; and at *Puliciano* hee lodged his Campe. From thence hee spoyled all the Countrey, to the Mountaines of *Fiesole*. Hee was also so bolde, as hee doubted not to passe the Riuer of *Arno*, foraging and spoyling euerie place within three myles of the Cittie of *Florence*. The *Florentines* on the other side were not dismayed, but before all other things settled the gouernment. Whereof they could not much doubt, as well for the good will the people bare vnto *Cosimo*; as because the chiefe Offices, were reduced into the handes of a fewe mightie Citizens, who with their seueritie handled the matter so, that they assured themselues of euerie man, that shewed themselues discontented, or desirous of Innouasion. They knewe also by the contract made in *Lombardy*, with what Forces *Neri* returned, and they looked also for other souldiers, to come from the Pope, which till the comming of *Neri*, made them hope well. But *Neri* finding the Cittie in these disorders, and feares, determined to goe into the field, somewhat to bridle the furie of *Nicholo*, that hee should not so much at his pleasure spoyle the countrey. Then making a band of certaine footemen, the people with all the horses they had went out, and recovered *Remole*, which the enemies had taken. There they encamped themselues, empeaching *Nicholo* to proceed in his spoyle, and gaue hope to the Citizens to vanquish the enemye. *Nicholo* seeing that the enemies hauing lost their souldiers, moued not: and vnderstanding also, with what securitie they liued in that citie, determined not to lose time, but enterprise some other thinges. To the ende that the *Florentines* might haue occasion to sende out their Forces and fight with him. And if the victorie prooued his, then hee hoped that all other matters should prosperously follow. In the Campe of *Nicholo*, *Francesco* Earle of *Poppi* happened

The Earle of
Poppi rebel-
led from the
Florentines.

to be. He in that time (that the enemies were in *Mugello*) rebelled from the *Florentines*, with whom he had bene before in League. And albeit the *Florentines* before mistrusted that hee would so doo, yet thought they to haue bounde him with benefites, and to that ende encreased his entertainment, and made him Governour ouer all their Townes neare vnto him. All which notwithstanding (so great strength had the loue which hee bare to the contrarie faction) that no benefite nor no feare, could force him to forget, the affection hee bare to *Rinaldo*, and the others that gouerned in times past. In so much, as when hee vnderstood that *Nicholo* drewe neare, suddainly hee ioyned with him, and perswaded him with all earnestie to goe from the Cittie, and passe into *Casentino*: shewing him the strength of that countrey, and with what securitie, he might from thence distresse the enemye. *Nicholo* was well content to be aduised by his counsell, and come into *Casentino*, surprized *Romana* and *Bibiena*, and after lodged his Campe at the Castle *S. Nicholo*. This Castle is seated at the foote of those mountaines which diuide *Casentino* from the Vale of *Arno*, and by reason the seate thereof is high, and the place well manned, the taking thereof prooued hard: notwithstanding that *Nicholo* did with his Artillarie continually make the batterie. This siege had continued more then twentie dayes. In which time, the *Florentines* assembled their Forces at *Figghini*, to the number of foure thousande horse; vnder the conduct of *Pietro Giampagolo*, the Generall, *Neri Caponi*, and *Barnardo de Medici* Commissaries. To them foure Messengers were sent from the Castle of Saint *Nicholo* to desire their aide. Those Commissaries hauing considered the seate of that place, founde they could not rescue it anie other way, then by the Alpes, which come from the Vale of *Arno*, and the tops of them might be possessed by the enemye, before they could come thither, as well for that they were nearer, as that they could not goe vnknowne. So as, they should attempt a thing to no purpose, and hazard the ruine of their souldiers. Thereuppon the Captaines commending their fidelitie, commaunded them, that if they were not able anie longer to defende themselves, that then they should yeelde. Thus *Nicholo* preuailed in that enterprise, and possessed this Castle in the ende of thirtie two dayes, after hee and his Campe had besieged it. And for so great a losse of time, obteyned this small victorie, which was the greatest occasion whereby a greater enterprise was not performed. For if hee had still continued with his Campe before *Florence*, he had forced those that gouerned, to leuie money amongst the Cittizens, prepare Forces, and make euerie other prouision, with more difficultie, the enemye being so neare at hand, manie of the Cittizens would also haue bene desirous of peace, to assure themselves from *Nicholo*, seeing the warre likely to continue. But the desire which the Earle of *Poppi* had to bee reuenged of some Captaines of Castles, who had bene long his enemies, did leade him to giue that counsaile: And *Nicholo* for his satisfaction, followed the same; which was the destruction both of the one and the other. Whereof may be conceiued, that for the moste part, the particular passions of men, doo hinder the publique commoditie. *Nicholo* following the victorie, surprized *Rassina* and *Chiusi*. In these places, the Earle of *Poppi*, perswaded him to tarrie, declaring that hee might disperse his Forces into *Chiusi*, *Caprese*, & *Pieue*: by that meanes to become Lord of the mountaines, and at his pleasure descende from thence, into *Casentino*, into the Vale of *Arno*, to the Vale of *Chiana*, and the Vale of *Teueri*, and bee also readie, to answer to anye motion whatsoever, that the Enemye coulde make. But *Nicholo* considering the barrennesse of those places, answered, that his Horses, did

Nicholo euill
counselled by
the Earle of
Poppi.

did not eate stones, and so went to the *Borgo* of *S. Sepulchro*, where he was friendly receiued. From thence hee practised to winne the fauoure of the inhabitants, of the Cittie called *Castello*: who being friendes to the *Florentines*, refused him. Also desiring to haue the *Perugini* at his deuotion, hee went with fortie horse vnto *Perugia*: and was receiued (being there a Cittizen borne) verie louingly, yet within fewe dayes after hee became suspected. For albeit both with the Gouvernour and the Cittizens, hee practised manie things, yet nothing was brought to passe. But receiuing of them eight thousand Duckets he returned to the Camp.

Then hee deuised how to take *Cortona* from the *Florentines*, which beeing discovered before the time of execution, that deuise came not to effect. Among the chiefe Cittizens of that Towne, was *Bartholomeo di Senso*, who one euening going by commaundement of the Captaine to take the Guard of one of the gates, was by a Countrey man his friende, aduised not to goe thither, vnlesse hee were content there to be flaine. *Bartholomeo* desirous to vnderstand the bottome of that matter, founde there were some practise made with *Nicholo*: which *Bartholomeo* by authoritie of the Captaine reuealed, and made sure the chiefe of the conspiracie.

Practise to
surprise Cor-
tona.

Then doubling the Guard of the Gate, tarried there till *Nicholo* did come. Who at his arriual, vnderstanding the matter was discovered, returned to his Camp. During that thinges were in *Toscana* thus handled, and that the Dukes souldiers had gained little: *Lombardy* grewe vnquiet, with losse and disaduanntage of the Duke. Because the Earle *Francesco*, so soone as the season of the yeare suffered, came foorth with his Armie to the field, and for that the *Venetians* had supplied their Forces vpon the Lake, the Earle thought good first to make himselfe Lorde of the Water, and then driue the Duke from the Lake: (which done) all other thinges would be easily brought to passe. Then with the Nauie of the *Venetians*, he assaulted the Dukes Gallies, and had the victorie. Hee also tooke those Castles which were holden of the Duke. In so much, as the Dukes other souldiers who besieged *Brescia* by lande, vnderstanding this ouerthrowe, retyred. In this sorte was *Brescia* after three yeares siege deliuered. This victorie had, the Earle marched towards his enemies, who

The siege of
Brescia remo-
ued.

were come to *Soncino*, a Castle vpon the Riuer of *Ogglio*, where hee dislodged them, and forced them remouue to *Cremona*. There the Duke made head, and on that side defended his Countries. But the Earle day by day drawing nearer, and the Duke fearing to lose either all or part of his Countrey, founde how vnaduisedly hee had done to sende *Nicholo* into *Toscana*. And to amende that errour hee wrote vnto *Nicholo* in what tearmes hee stood: praying him, with what speed he possiblie might, to leaue *Toscana*, and returne into *Lombardy*. The *Florentines* in this meane space, by order of their Generalles, had ioyned their souldiers with the Popes Forces, and made head at *Angiari*, a Castle at the foote of the mountains, which diuided the Vale of *Teuere*, from the Vale of *Chiana*, foure myles from *S. Sepulchro*, where the fieldes be large to receiue Horse men, and fit for all actions of warre. And because they had intelligence of the Earles victorie, and the reuocation of *Nicholo*, they thought that without the sword, or more labour, the warre was ended. Therefore wrote vnto their Generals not to fight, for that *Nicholo* could not manie dayes remaine in *Toscana*. This Commission became knowne to *Nicholo*, who seeing that of necessitie hee must depart: to leaue nothing vnattempted, hee determined to fight, supposing to finde the enemye altogether unprouided, and not looking for anye Battayle at all. Whereunto hee was also animated and encouraged by *Rinaldo*, the Earle of *Poppi*, and diuerse other banished men of *Florence*, who knewe theyr

The battle of
Anghiari.

Nicholo Pic-
cinino defea-
ted.

owne destruction to be certaine, if *Nicholo* did remoue thence: but by fighting they hoped either to winne the victorie, or lose it with honor. This resolution made, the Army marched from the place where it was, till it came betweene the Cities of *Castello* and *Borgo*, and being come to *Borgo*, before that the enemies knew thereof, leuied from the Towne two thousand men, who trusting to the vertue of the Captaine and his promises, being desirous of spoyie, followed him. Then *Nicholo* with his Army, marched in Battle-wise towards *Anghiari*, & was within two miles of the enimie or lesse, when by *Micheletto Attendulo* was seene a great dust, who knowing the enemies to be there, warned euerie man to prepare himselfe. The noyse in the *Florentine* Campe was great; becaule that Army encamped for the most part without Discipline, and supposed the enimie to be far off, so all the *Florentines* were more readie to flie then fight. For euery man was far from his own lodging, and disarmed, either to refresh himselfe in that hotte season, or to take some other delight. Yet so great was the diligence of the Gouvernours and the Captaine, that before the enemies approached, they were on horsebacke, and prepared to resist the charge. And as *Micheletto* was the first to discover the enemies, so was he also the first that charged them, and with his souldiers made speede to winne the Bridge which crosseth the way not farre from *Anghiari*. And becaule before the comming of the enimie, *Pietro Ciampagolo* had caused the ditches to be cast downe, which are on either side the waie: *Micheletto* standing against the Bridge, *Simoncino* the Popes Coronell, together with the Legate, staid on the right hand, and on the left hand stood the Commissaries for *Florence*, and the foote men placed along the River. Then had the enimie no other way open whereby hee might charge, but by the Bridge. Neither had the *Florentines* to fight but onely vppon the Bridge, sauing that they commaunded their footemen, that if the footemen of the enimie did goe towards the men of Armes; that then they with their Crossebowes should charge them: to the ende that the *Florentine* horsemen in passing the Bridge, should not bee hurt on the side. So that they that gaue the first charge were by *Micheletto* brauely resisted: but afterwardes *Astore* and *Francesco Piccinino* with their choyse bandes, so furiously charged *Micheletto*, as they tooke from him the Bridge, and draue him to the foote of the hill, which lea- deth vp to *Anghiari*. After that they were put backe by him, and forced to retyre beyonde the Bridge, and hee also charged them vppon the side. This fight continued two houres, for sometime *Nicholo*, and sometimes the *Florentines*, were Lordes of the Bridge. And although vppon the Bridge they were of equall force, yet both on that, and this side of the Bridge, *Nicholo* fought with great disaduantage. Becaule when the souldiers of *Nicholo* had passed the Bridge, they founde the enemies strong vppon that straight, and could not with like aduantage be charged: and those that were wearie, might easily be, by fresh men supplied. But when the *Florentines* happened to passe, *Nicholo* could not so commodiously releue his wearied men, beeing straightned and holden in, with ditches and trenches: So as, though manie times *Nicholo* had wonne the Bridge, yet by the supplie of fresh enemies, hee was euer driuen backe. But when the Bridge was by the *Florentines* assuredly wonne, and that their forces were entered into the waie, *Nicholo* wanted time, through the furie of the enimie, and the incommoditie of the place, to supplie his souldiers. For they of the Vangarde were forced to mixt themselves, with the Rearewarde: and so the one disordering the other, all the whole Armye was forced to flie, and euerie man without anie respect ranne towards the Towne. Then the *Florentine* souldiers beganne to spoyie: which spoyie of prisoners, armour, and horses, was

was great. For with *Nicholo* there was not saved above one thousand horses. They of the *Borgo*, who in hope of spoyle had followed *Nicholo*, were of spoilers, become a spoyle, because they were all taken and put to ransome. Their enignes and carriages were lost, and the victorie was much more profitable for *Toscana*, then preiudiciall for the Duke. For if the *Florentines* had lost the battell, *Toscana* had bene his, but he losing the battell, lost no other thing but the armour and horses of his Army, which with plentie of money might be recovered. Neither could any warre be made in the countrey of another lesse dangerous, then was the warre of those dayes. For in so great an overthrow, and so long a fight (which continued from twentie to foure and twentie of the clock) more were not slaine then one man, and he also not hurt by the vertue of any other, but being falne from his horse, was trodden vpon with horses, and so died: with so great securitie men fought in that age. The reason thereof is; that for the most part the souldiers fought on horse-back, and couered with armour, they were defended from death till they yeelded. And therefore finding themselves able to fight, they so did, and being not longer able, they yeelded. This conflict (for matters which happened both in and after the fight) was a signe of the great unhappines of those warres, because the enemies being vanquished, and *Nicholo* returned into *Borgo*, the Governours of the *Florentines* would haue followed, and besieged him there to haue the victorie fullie. But some souldiers, and some Captaines also, refused to obey them, saying they would first carrie away the spoile, and cure the hurt men. Also (a thing more notable) the next day at high noone, without leaue or respect either of the Governours or of the Generall, the souldiers went vnto *Arezzo*, and there bestowed their spoile (which done) they returned to *Anghiari*. A thing so much against all order Militarie and Discipline of warre, that the remaine of any Army well ordered, might and would easily and deseruingly haue recovered that victorie, which the *Florentines* vnderferuedly had gotten. Besides this, the Governours commaunding that all souldiers taken, should be stayed, to the end, that the enemy might not grow and sodeinly recover strength, yet were they presently deliuered. All which things are greatly to be meruailed at. First, how in such an Army, there should be vertue sufficient to win victorie: And then, how there could be in any enemy so little value, as would be of so disordered a people oppressed. But while the *Florentines* went; and returned from *Arezzo*, *Nicholo* gained time to go with his souldiers from *Borgo*, and marched towards *Romagna*, with whome also fled the *Florentine* Rebels, who seeing all hope failed for their returne to *Florence*, they deuided themselves, and euery man tooke his owne way, some remaining in *Italy*, and some without, as they could find meane to bestow themselves. Of which number was *Rinaldo*, who made his habitation at *Ancona*: from whence (the rather to gaine himselfe a celestially countrey) hauing lost his dwelling vpon earth, he went vnto the Sepulchre of Christ, and being returned home, at the marriage of one of his daughters sitting at the table, sodeinly died: wherein fortune did fauour him, that in the day of his last sorrow she called him away. A man in euery fortune honourable, and would haue bene much more honourable, had he bene borne in a Cittie vndeuided. Because many times those his vertues which in a factious Cittie did hinder him, in a Cittie vnited would haue aduanced him. The Commissaries then seeing the souldiers returned from *Arezzo*, and *Nicholo* departed, presented themselves before *Borgo*. The *Borghesi* offered to yeeld to the *Florentines*, but they refused to receiue them. And in compounding this agreement, the Popes Legat grew suspitious of the Commissaries, fearing they intended to take that Towne from the Church: in so much, as they grew to words of offence, and some disorder would haue followed betwixt the *Florentine* and the

VWant of discipline in the Florentines Campe.

The death of Rinaldo de Albizi.

Popes

Poppi be-
sieged.

The speech
of the Earle
of Poppi to
the Floren-
tines com-
missaries.

The Earle
answered by
N. Capponi.

Popes souldiers, if the matter had bene more spoken of. But bicause euery thing passed according to the Legats desire, all anger was pacified. While this assault of *Borgo* continued, aduertisements were giuen, that *Nicholo Piccinino* was gone towards *Rome*, and (as others said) towards *La Marca*. Whereupon the Legat, and the rest thought good to marche towards *Perugia*, to succour *La Marca* or *Rome*, if *Nicholo* directed his course to any of them. *Barnardo de Medici* followed, and *Neri* with the *Florentines* marched to surprize *Casentino*. This resolution made, *Neri* incamped before *Russina*, and surprized it with the like furie, that he had taken *Bibienna*, *Prato*, *Vecchio*, and *Romena*. From thence, he went to *Poppi*, and there lodged the Army, diuiding it into two parts, the one vpon the plaine of *Certomondo*, the other vpon the hill that reacheth to *Fronzoli*. The Earle seeing himselfe both of God and men abandoned, shut himselfe vp in *Poppi*, not hoping of any aide, but the rather to procure a composition least to his disadvantage. *Neri* there besieging him, was desired to accept composition. The conditions whereof were such, as thereby he might hope to saue himselfe, his children and goods portable, yeelding the Towne and his state to the *Florentines*. When these capitulations were in making, the Earle came downe to the bridge of *Arno*, which passeth by the towne, and there with great sorrow spake thus. If I had well measured my fortune with your power, I should now haue come as a friend to reioyce at your victorie, and not as an enemy, intreate you, that my miserie might be pittied. This present chance, as it is to you honorable, and pleasant, so is the same to me lamentable and grieuous. I was owner of a weapon, horses, subiects and riches, who can therefore meruaile though with griefe of mind I leaue them? If you will, and can command all *Toscana*, of necessitie we must all obey you: and if I had not committed this error, neither should my fortune haue bene knowne, nor your liberalitie appeared. For if at this time you fauour me, you shall thereby giue to the world a testimonie of your mercie. Let therefore the vertue of your compasion, exceed the greatnes of mine offence: and be pleased that at the least this onely house may descend to those, of whome your auncestors haue receiued benefits. To whome *Neri* answered, that as he had hoped ouermuch in those that could do little, so had he thereby in such sort offended the state of *Florence*, as his fault ioyned with the conditions of the present time, must of necessitie take from him all his wealth, and be inforced to abandon that countrey, as enemy to the *Florentines*, which as their friend he would not possesse. For he had made so euill a triall of himselfe, as he might not in any wise be suffered to remaine there, where at euery change of fortune he might be readie to offend the *Florentine* common wealth, for it was not him, but his countrey whome they feared. But if he were pleased to repaire into *Germany*, he might there remaine a Prince, sith those Citties did desire him, and the *Florentines* for the loue of those his auncestors whom he alledged, would be also therewith contented. Hereto the Earle in great collor replied, saying, that he would see the *Florentines* a great way further from him. So leauing all friendly communication, the poore Earle despairing of other remedie, yeelded his Towne to the *Florentines*. That done, taking his goods, his wife, and children, departed, weeping and lamenting for the losse of that Countrey, which his auncestors by the space of 900. yeares had possessed. These victories being known in *Florence*, were by the Governours of that State and the people with meruailous ioy receiued, and bicause that *Barnardo de Medici* knewe that *Nicholo* was to no purpose marched towards *La Marca* or *Rome*, he and his souldiers returned to *Neri*, and frō thence they went together to *Florence*, where they were welcomed with all the greatest honors that by order of that Cittie might be giuen to victorious Citizens. And were in triumphant wise saluted by the *Senators*, the Captaines, and the whole Cittie.

The end of the fift Booke.

THE



THE SIXT BOOKE.

Thath bene, and by good reason ought to be the intent of all those that make warre, to enrich themselves, and impoverish their enemy. Neither is victorie for other occasion sought, nor the possessions of the enemy to other end desired, then thereby to make thy selfe mightie, and thy aduersarie weake. It followeth therefore, that so oft as thy victorie doth impoverish thee, or thy gains do weaken thee, either thou passe or come short of the marke, whereunto the warre is directed. That Prince, and that State, is by the victories of warre enriched, which extirpeth the enemies, and becommeth Lord of the spoiles, and ransomes. And that Prince or Common-weale is impoverished, who cannot (though he be victorious) extirpate the enemy, or hath not to his owne vse, the spoiles and ransomes, but leaueth them to his souldiers. Such a Prince in his losses is unhappie, and in his victories most infortunate, because in losing he suffereth all iniuries which the enemy can do him, and in winning, must abide the offences of friends: which as they are lesse reasonable, so are they also lesse tollerable, seeing that by impositions, and new exactions, he is againe to burden his owne subiects. That Prince then, in whome is any generositie of minde, cannot reioyce at such a victorie whereat all his subiects be constrained to lament. The auncient and well ordered Commonweales were wont by conquests to fill their Treasuries with gold and siluer, to giue rewards to the people, to forgiue tributes, and to make triumphs and publique feastings. But the States of whomewe write, first emptied their treasure houses, and after impoverished the people, without assuring themselves of their enemies. All which grew by their disorderly proceeding in the warres. For when they tooke any prisoners, not holding them nor slaying them, the reuenge was no longer deferred, then the leaders of the enemy were furnished anew with horse and weapon. Besides that, the spoiles and ransoms being giuen to the souldiers, the Princes victorious could not imploy the same in the next warre, but were forced to draw their prouision from the bowels of their owne people. Neither did that victorie bring foorth other benefite, then make the Prince greedy, and with lesse respect to burthen them. For the souldiers had brought the warre to such a passe (as both the victorious and the victored, if they would commaund their owne men) had like need of money, because the one was to arme them anew, the other to reward them. And as they vnmounted could not fight, so these without new rewards, would not. Whereby it followed, that the one inioyed not much of the victorie, the other felt little of the losse, seeing the victored was speedily repaired, and the victorious could not in time pursue the victorie. This disorder, and this peruerse proceeding in warre, caused that *Nicholo Piccinino* was
againe

againe set on horseback, before his ouerthrow was knowne through all *Italy*, and made after greater warre then before he had done. This was the cause, that after the discomfit at *Tenna*, he could surprize *Verona*. This was the cause, that after the slaughter of his souldiers at *Verona*, he could recouer a greater Army, and come into *Toscana*. This was the cause, that being ouerthrowne at *Anghiari*, before he arriued in *Romagna*, he was more mightie in the field, then before he had bene: and might thereby put the Duke of *Milan* in hope to defend *Lombardy*, which by his absence was supposed to be welneare lost. For when *Nicholo* had filled *Lombardy* with troubles, the Duke was brought to such passe, as he began to doubt of his owne estate. And fearing his ruine might follow before the comming of *Nicholo*, (for whome he had sent) to bridle the Earles furie, and with industrie to temper fortune, (which with force he could not) he resorted to those remedies which in like cases had before time helped him. He therefore sent *Nicholo da Este* Prince of *Ferrara* vnto *Pischiara* (where the Earle was) to practice a peace, and perswade that warre not to be for his aduantage. Bicause, if the Duke were brought to that weaknesse, that he could not mainteine his owne reputation, he should be the rather esteemed. And for more assurance that indeed he desired peace, he offered him conclusion of the marriage, and would send his daughter to *Ferrara*, she promising (the peace made) to yeeld her selfe into his hands. The Earle answered, that if the Duke did faithfullie desire peace, with ease he might finde it; as a thing both by the *Florentines* and *Venetians* wished for. Yet did he mistrust the same much, knowing that before time, he had neuer made peace, but for necessitie, which being passed, he would alwaies returne to his old minde, and make warre. Neither could he beleue, that the Duke intended the marriage, hauing bene before at his hand so many times mocked: Notwithstanding, if the peace were concluded, he would after deale in the marriage as by friends he should be aduised. The *Venetians* who without reason were suspitious of their owne souldiers, of those entertainments reasonable conceiued mistrust. Which the Earle being carefull to remoue, followed the warre with greater furie. Notwithstanding, his mind was stil so tempered with ambition, and the *Venetians* were so infected with suspision, as the rest of that sommer was passed without any enterprize of importance. In so much as *Nicholo Piccinino* being returned into *Lombardy*, and the winter begun, all the souldiers repaired to their lodgings: the Earle to *Verona*, the Duke to *Cremona*, the *Florentines* to *Toscana*, and the Popes forces to *Romagna*. After the victorie at *Anghiari*, they assaulted *Furli*, and *Bologna*, with intent to take them from *Francesco Piccinino*, who in the name of his father kept them. But that enterprize tooke none effect, yet their coming thither did so much terrifie the people of *Rauenna*, that with the consent of *Ostacio di Polenta*, they abandoned the Pope, and yeelded their obedience to the *Venetians*, who in recompence of the towne (and to the end that *Ostacio* should neuer recouer that from them by force, which for want of wit he had giuen them) sent him and his sonne to die in *Candia*. In which enterprizes, notwithstanding the victorie of *Anghiari*, the Pope wanting money, sould the Castell of *Borgo Saint Sepulcro* for twentie fiue thousand Florins. In this estate all things being, in respect of the winter, euery man supposed himselfe in safetie, and therefore of peace thought not at all: chiefly the Duke, held himselfe by *Nicholo*, and the winter season assured. For that consideration, the parle of peace with the Earle was broken, and *Nicholo* with all diligence was set on horseback, with euery other furniture for a future warre necessarie. Hereof the Earle being aduertised, went vnto *Venice*, to consult with the *Senators* what was to be done the yeare following. *Nicholo* on the other side was readie, and seeing the enemy vnprepared, tarried not for the Spring, but in the

The Duke desireth peace.

The Venetians mistrust the Earle Francesco their Generall.

Ingratitude of the Venetians.

the depth of winter passed *Adda*, and entred *Bresciano*, possessing himselfe of all that Countrey (*Adula* and *Acri* excepted) and there spoyling and taking prisoners two thousand of the Dukes horses, who vnwares were there assaulted. But that which more displeased the Earle and *Venetians*, was, the reuolt of *Ciarpellone*, one of his chiefe Captaines. The Earle receiuing these newes, went sodeinly from *Venice*, and being arriued at *Brescia*, found that *Nicholo* had done those displeasures, and was returned to his lodging, so as he thought not good to kindle the warre againe, being in that sort quenched. And sith the enemy and time did giue opportunitie, thought good to prepare himselfe, hoping the rather with the new yeare to be reuenged of old iniuries. He therefore procured that the *Venetians* should call back their forces, which serued the *Florentines* in *Toscana*: and commaunded, that the place of *Gattamelata* being dead, should by *Micheletto* be supplied. The Spring being come, *Nicholo Piccinino* was the first that marched to the field, and besieged *Cignano*, a Castle distant from *Brescia* twelue miles. To the rescue whereof came the Earle, and betwixt these two Captaines, according to their custome the warre was made. The Earle standing in doubt of *Bergamo*, besieged *Martinengo*, which Castle being easily wonne, the succour of *Bergamo* could not be hard. That Cittie being by *Nicholo* greatly distressed, and hauing prouided so, as it could not receiue harme, but by the way of *Martinengo*, they manned it so fully, as behoued the Earle to goe vnto the siege thereof with all forces. Whereupon *Nicholo* with his whole Army placed himselfe where he might impeach the Earle of his victuall, and was with trenches and bulwarks so fortified, as the Earle without his apparant danger could not assault him, and brought the matter to that passe, that the besieger was in more perill then the people of *Martinengo* who were besieged; in so much as the Earle for want of victuall, could neither continue the siege, nor for the peril he was in, depart thence. Thus the Dukes victorie was thought assured, and the *Venetians* and Earles overthrow seemed apparant. But fortune, (who neuer faileth of meane, to fauour her friends, and disfauour her foes) made *Nicholo Piccinino* with hope of this victorie to become so ambitious and insolent, as without respect to the Duke (and himselfe also) by a messenger signified vnto him, that he had long time serued vnder his ensigne, and yet had not gained so much land as he could therein burie himselfe: and was therefore desirous to know wherewith his seruice should be rewarded, sith now it was in his power to make him Lord of *Lombardy*, and oppresse all his enemies. And to the end that of certaine victorie he might aspect a certaine recompence, desired to haue of his gift the Cittie of *Piacenza*, where being wearie of long trauell, he might sometimes repose himselfe: and in conclusion somewhat threatened to abandon the enterprize, if the Duke refused to satisfie his demaund. This presumptuous and insolent sute, so highly offended the Duke, as he made choise rather to lose the victorie, then consent thereunto. And that which so many dangers and threatnings of enemies could not compasse, the insolent behauiour of friends brought to passe, and the Duke resolved to make a peace with the Earle. To whom he sent *Antonio Guidobuono* of *Tortona*, and by him offered his daughter with the conditions of peace: which offer, was by the Earle, and all his Collegats greedily accepted, and the particularities betwixt them secretly concluded. The Duke then sent vnto *Nicholo*, willing him to take a truce with the Earle for one yeare, alleaging he had bene so sore burthened with charges, as he could not refuse a certaine peace for a doubtfull victorie. *Nicholo* meruailed much at this resolution, as one that knew not what might moue the Duke to shunne a victorie so certaine: and could not beleue that for want of good will to reward friends, he would saue his enemies. Wherefore in the best manner he could, opposed himselfe to this determination.

Micheletto
Generall for
the League.

A proude re-
quest of Ni-
cholo.

Peace be-
tweene the
League and
Duke, and his
daughter
married to
the Earle
Francesco.

tion. In so much as the Duke was constrained to threaten him, that if he were not conformable, he would giue him either as a prisoner to the enemy, or as a spoile to his owne souldiers. Then *Nicholo* obeyed, but with no other minde, then he that by force abandoneth his friends and countrey: complaining his hap to be hard, sith sometimes fortune, and sometimes the Duke, had taken from him the victorie ouer his enemies. This peace made, the marriage betwixt the Ladie *Bianca* and the Earle, was solemnized, and to her was allotted for dowrie the Cittie of *Cremona*. Which done, the peace was ratified in Nouember, the yeare 1441. where, for the *Venetians*, *Francesco Barbarigo*, and *Pagolo Trono*, and for the *Florentines*, *Agnolo Acciaiuolo*, were Commissioners. In this contract, the *Venetians* gained *Peschiera*, *Asola*, and *Lonato*, a Castle belonging to the Marquesse of *Mantoua*. The warre thus stayed in *Lombardy*, it remained to take order for the troubles in the kingdome, which not being pacified, would be an occasion to renew the warres in *Lombardy*. The King *Rinato* during the warres in *Lombardy*, had bene spoiled by *Alfonso* of *Arragon* of all his Kingdome, saue only the Cittie of *Naples*, so that *Alfonso* thinking to haue victorie in his owne hand, determined during the siege of *Naples*, to take from the Earle *Beneuento*, and other his Countreys thereabouts: for he thought the same without perill might be done by the Earles absence, and his employment in the warres of *Lombardy*. This enterprize was by *Alfonso* easily performed, and with small trauell he surprized all those Townes. But the newes of the peace in *Lombardy* being come, *Alfonso* feared that the Earle, the rather for that his townes were taken from him, would ioyne with *Rinato*, and *Rinato* hoped for the same occasion that he would so do. *Rinato* then sent vnto the Earle, desiring him to come to the aide of his friend, and the reuenge of his enemy. On the other side, *Alfonso* intreated *Philippo*, that for the good will betwixt them, he would cause the Earle to be so much set aworke, as to attend greater matters, he might be inforced to let this alone. *Philippo* graunted this request, not thinking what disturbed that peace, which he, not long since, had made to his disadvantage. Then he gaue the Pope *Eugenio* to vnderstand, that the time was now come, to recouer those Townes which the Earle had taken from the Church. And for performance of that enterprize, he offered him *Nicholo Piccinino* paid, so long as the warres continued. For (the peace now made) he remained with his souldiers in *Romagna*. *Eugenio* greedily entertained this counsell, as well for the displeasure he bare to the Earle, as the desire he had to recouer his owne. And though before time, he had bene with the same hope by *Nicholo* deceiued, yet now the Duke vndertaking the action, he mistrusted no more deceit, but presently ioyned his forces with *Nicholo*, and assaulted *La Marca*. The Earle being so sodeinly set vpon, ordered his souldiers, and marched towards the enemy. In this meane while, the King *Alfonso* wonne *Naples*, whereby all that Kingdome (excepting Castle *Nuouo*) was at his deuotion. Then *Rinato* leauing that Castle well guarded, went from thence to *Florence*, where he was most honourably receiued, and there remaining a few dayes, finding he could not make warre any longer, went vnto *Marsilia*. *Alfonso* in the meane while had taken the Castle *Nuouo*, and the Earle remained in *La Marca*, in strength inferiour to the Pope and *Nicholo*, and therefore prayed the *Venetians* and *Florentines* to aide him with men and money. Letting them to vnderstand, it was necessarie to bridle the Pope and the King, during the time he was able: for otherwise they were to looke for little good, seeing the Pope and King would ioyne themselves with *Philippo*, and diuide all *Italy* betwixt them. The *Florentines* and *Venetians* for a time stood doubtfull what to do, as well because they knew not whether it were their best to be enemies to the Pope and King, as for that they were occupied with the matters of *Bologna*. *Anibale Bentiuogli* had driuen out of

The warre
betweene
King Rinato
and Alfonso
reuiued.

The Cittie of
Naples wonne
by Alfonso.

of that Cittie *Francesco Piccinino*. And the rather to defend the same from the Duke, (who fauoured *Francesco*) he sent for aide to the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, and they did not denie him: so as being occupied in these matters, they could not resolue to assisist the Earle. But *Annibale* hauing ouerthrowne *Francesco Piccinino*, and those matters setled, the *Florentines* determined to aide the Earle: yet first to be assured of the Duke, they renewed the league with him, which the Duke refused not, hauing consented that the warre should be made vpon the Earle, so long as the King *Rinato* was in Armes. But seeing him vanquished, and vterly deprived of his Kingdome, he was not pleased that the Earle should then be bereft of his Countrey. And therefore he not onely consented to aide the Earle, but also wrote vnto *Alfonso*, desiring him to be pleased to returne to the Kingdome, and make no longer warre. Whereunto, albeit *Alfonso* was vnwilling, yet being beholding to the Duke, determined to content him, and retired himselfe with his Army to the other side of *Tronto*. While matters were thus handled in *Romagna*, the *Florentines* withinthemselves became disquiet. Among the Cittizens of most reputation and authoritie in *Florence*, was *Neri*, the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, whose greatnesse, *Cosimo de Medici* aboue all others feared. For besides his great credit in the Cittie, he was also greatly honored of the souldiers, hauing bene many times Generall of the *Florentine* Armies, and with his victorie, vertue, and well deseruing, had gained their loue. Besides that, the memorie of victories wonne by him and *Gino* his father, the one hauing surprized *Pisa*, and the other ouerthrowne *Nicholo Piccinino* at *Anghiari*, made him beloued of many, and feared of those who desired no companie in the gouernment. Among many other of the chiefe Captaines in the *Florentine* Army, was *Baldaccio* of *Anghiari*, a man of warre most excellēt. For in those daies, there was not any in *Italy*, that for vertue, person, & courage, could excell him, and had among the footemen (for of those he was euer a leader) so much reputation, as all that sort of souldiers in euery enterprize, and whensoever he pleased, would willingly follow him. This *Baldaccio* loued *Neri* exceeding much, as a man whose vertue (wherof he was a witnessse) so deserued, which bred in the other Cittizens great suspition. And they iudging to suffer him, was perillous, & to restraine him was most danger of all: determined to dispatch him vterly, which intent fortune greatly fauoured. *Bartholomeo Orlandini* was *Gonfaloniere de Giustitia*. He being (as is before said) Captaine of *Marradi*, at such time as *Ni. Piccinino* passed into *Toscana*, cowardly fled & abandoned that passage, which by nature almost defended it selfe. This cowardice at that time greatly offended *Baldaccio*, who with words of reproofe & letters, made the same euerywhere knowne. Whereat *Bartholomeo* ashamed & offended, did greatly study to be reuenged, hoping by the death of the accuser, to cancell the fame of his infamie. This desire of *Bartholomeo* being known to other cittizens, with small labour he perswaded them to the oppression of *Baldaccio*, whereby in one act he might reuenge his priuat iniurie, and deliuer the state frō that man, whom they must of force entertaine with peril, or discharge with disadvantage. Therefore *Bartholomeo* being fully determined to kil him, conueied into his chamber many yong men armed. Then the *Gonfalone* seeing *Baldaccio* come into the market place (whither he resorted daily to confer with the Magistrates of his charge) sent for him, and he obeyed. Being come, the *Gonfaloniere* met him, entreteining him with speech touching his businesse from chamber to chamber, till he came neare to that place where the armed men were hidden, and when he thought good, called them foorth. *Baldaccio* being disarmed, was presently slaine, and throwne out of the windowe. From thence, hee was carried to the market place, had his head cut off, and made a spectacle for the people all that day. Of him there remained one sonne by his wife called *Annalena*,

Neri Capponi.
Cosimo de Medici.

Baldaccio
Generall of
the Florentine
footmen.

Baldaccio
murdered by
Bartholomeo
Orlandini.

Florence re-
formed.

Ni. Piccinino
discomfited.

Death of
Ni. Piccinino.

Trouble in
Bologna.

who within fewe yeares after died. This *Annalena* hauing buried hir sonne and husband, determined no more to marrie, but making hir house a Monasterie, shut hir selfe vp therein, with many other noble women, where they verie holily liued and died. Her house in memorie of her, was after made a Monasterie, by the name of *S. Annalena* (as at this present it is) and euer shall be. This action somewhat decreased the power of *Neri*, and tooke from him reputation and friends. Neither did that onely content the Cittizens in authoritie. For the tenne yeares of their office being passed, and their authoritie in the *Balia* ended, diuerse men both by word and deedes tooke courage to complaine against the continuance of those officers: and therefore the Governours thought for the holding of their authoritie, it was necessariē to haue their offices prolonged, giuing new commision to friends, & oppressing their foes. For which consideration, in the yeare 1444. by their counsels a new *Balia* was created, which reestablished officers, giuing authoritie to a fewe, to create the *Senate*, reuiuing the Chancelorship of reformation: remouing *Ser. Philippo Peruzzi*, and in his place appointing one other to gouerne, according to the pleasure of the great men: putting in prison *Giouan* the sonne of *Simone Vespucci*. The gouernment thus settled, & the offices of state taken anew, they turned their minds to matters abroad. *Nicholo Piccinino* being (as hath bene before said) abandoned by the King *Alfonso*, and the Earle, with the helpe he had of the *Florētines*, became strong, assailed *Nicholo* neare vnto *Fermo*, and there gaue him so great an ouerthrow, that *Nicholo* lost wel-neare all his souldiers, and with a fewe fled into *Montecchio*. *Nicholo* tarried there all the winter to increase his army, and therein was helped by the Pope, & king *Alfonso*. In so much as the spring time being come, and the other Captaines returned to the field, *Nicholo* was the stronger, and the Earle brought to extreame necessitie, and had bene vtterly defeated, if the intent of *Nicholo* had not bene by the Duke altered. *Philippo* sent for *Nicholo*, pretending to haue occasion by mouth to impart vnto him matters of great importance. Which *Nicholo* being desirous to heare, abandoned a certaine victorie, for an incertaine pleasure, and leauing *Francesco* his sonne to gouerne the army, went vnto *Milan*. The Earle vnderstanding of his departure frō the Camp, would not lose the opportunitie to fight in the absence of *Nicholo*: and assaulting the army of *Nicholo* neare vnto the Castle of *Monte Loro*, ouerthrew it, and tooke *Francesco* prisoner. *Nicholo* at his arriual in *Milan*, seeing himselfe abused by *Philippo*, & vnderstanding his camp to be brokē, & his son prisoner, with sorow died, the yere 1445. being of the age of 64. yeares, hauing bene a Captaine more vertuous then happie. Of him there remained two sonnes, *Francesco*, and *Giacopo*, who as they were of lesse vertue then the father, so had they worse fortune. By which meane, the souldiers bred by *Braccio*, were almost worne out, and the discipline of *Sforza* (alwaies holpen by fortune) became more glorious. The Pope seeing the army of *Nicholo* suppressed, and him dead, nor much hoping in the aide of *Arragon*, sought to make peace with the Earle, which by mediation of the *Florentines* was concluded. The peace made in *La Marca*, all *Italy* had liued in quiet, if the *Bolognesi* had not disturbed the same. There was in *Bologna* two mightie Families, *Channeschi*, and *Bentiuogli*, of the one *Annibale*, and of the other *Battista* was chiefe. These (to be the rather assured one of the others friendship) contracted a marriage. But betweene men which aspire to one greatnesse, though alliance may easily be made, yet friendship cannot. *Bologna* was in league with the *Florentines* and *Venetians*; which league had bene concluded by meane of *Annibale Bentiuogli*, after they had driuen out *Francesco Piccinino*. *Battista* knowing that the Duke desired greatly to haue the fauour of that Cittie, practised with him to kill *Annibale*, and bring that Cittie vnder his ensigne. The order of this murther agreed vpon, the 24. of Iune 1445. *Battista* with

with his men assaulted *Annibale* & slew him: which done, he proclaimed the Dukes name throughout the towne. At that time, the Commissaries for the *Venetians* and the *Florentines*, were in *Bologna*; and at the first rumor retired vnto their houses, but afterwards perceiuing that the murtherers were not faouored by the people (who were in great numbers armed, and assembled, lamenting the death of *Annibale*) they tooke courage, went towards them, & assailed the *Canneschi*, whom in lesse then one houre they ouerthrew; slaying some, and forcing the rest to flie the Cittie. *Battista* not fleeing in time nor slaine, remained at his house and hid himself in a vessell made for the keeping of corne. His enemies hauing all the day sought him, and assured he was not gone out of the towne, threatned his seruants so much, as one of them at length discovered where he was. From thence he was taken out and slaine, then drawne through the streets, and at last burned: so as the victorie of the Duke, was of force sufficient to perswade *Annibale* to the enterprise, but not of power ynough to saue him from death. Thus by the death of *Battista*, and the fleeing of the *Canneschi*, these tumults were appeased. The *Bolognesi* remained in great confusion, bicause there was not left of the house of *Bentiuogli* any man fit for gouernmēt. And for that there remained one sonne onely of *Annibale* but six yeares old (who was called *Giuuanni*) the *Bolognesi* feared least among the friends of the *Bentiuogli* some diuision would grow, which might perhaps occasion the returne of the *Canneschi*, with the ruine of their countrey and faction. While the *Bolognesi* continued in this doubtfull imagination, *Francesco* late Earle of *Poppi* being in *Bologna*, informed the chiefe Cittizens, that if they had desire to be gouerned by one descended of the bloud of *Annibale*, he could informe them of such a one. Declaring that about 20. yeares past, *Hercole* the Cosen of *Annibale* happened to be at *Poppi*, and had there carnall knowledge of a yong woman in that Castle, who was after deliuered of a sonne called *Santi*, whom *Hercole* diuerse times affirmed to be his. And it seemed to be a thing likely, for that the child so much resembled *Hercole*, as liker it could not be. His words were believed by those Cittizens, and they deferred no time to send vnto *Florence*, to find out the yong man, and perswade with *Cosimo di Medici*, and *Neri Capponi*, that they might haue him. The supposed father of this *Santi* was dead, and the yong man liued vnder the tuition of an Vncle of his called *Antonio Cascese*. This *Antonio* was rich, without children, and friend to *Neri*. The matter being vnderstood, *Neri* thought fit, neither to reiect the motion, nor imbrace it, but commaunded that *Santi* in the presence of *Cosimo*, and those that were sent frō *Bologna*, should speake with him. Then order being taken for their meeting, *Santi* was by the *Bolognesi* not only honored, but also (as it were) adored. Then *Cosimo* calling *Santi* aside, said vnto him, there is none that in this matter can better counsell thee, then thy selfe, for thou art to take that choise whereto thine own mind is inclined. If thou be the sonne of *Hercole Bentiuogli*, thou wilt dispose thy selfe to such actions as be worthie of thy father and his house, but if thou art the sonne of *Agnolo Cascese*, thou shalt remaine in *Florence*, and imploy thy life basely in the art of clothmaking. These words much encouraged the yong man, for where he had before refused to take the matter vpō him, he said now that he would be directed in all by *Cosimo* and *Neri*. Then they resolued with the messengers of *Bologna* to apparrell him, horse him, and man him, and so in honorable wise conuey him to the Cittie, there to take the gouernment: where he after gouerned with so great wisdom, that notwithstanding the greater part of his predecessors had ben by their enemies slaine, yet he peaceably and honorably liued & died. After the death of *Nicholo Piccinino*, & the peace made in *La Marca*, *Philippo* desired to entertaine a Captaine to gouerne his Army, and secretly practised with *Ciarpellone*, one of the Earles chiefe Leaders, and grew with him to composition. *Ciarpellone* prayed

Santi Bentiuogli.

leauē of the Earle to goe to *Milan*, to take possession of certaine Castles, which in the late warre were by *Philippo* giuen him. The Earle mistrusting that which was, (and to the end the Duke should not be serued to his disaduantage) first stayed him, and shortly after put him to death, alleaging he had bene by him abused. Therewith *Philippo* was exceedingly angrie, and the *Florentines* and *Venetians* much pleased, as they that feared least the Earles forces and the Dukes power ioyned in friendship. This anger was occasion to resuscitate new warre in *La Marca*. In *Rimini*, *Gismondo Malatesti* was Lord, who being son in law to the Earle, hoped to haue possession of *Pesaro*: notwithstanding the Earle hauing surprized it, gaue it to *Alessandro* his brother. Wherewith *Gismondo* grew greatly offended, and the more bicause *Federigo di Montefeltro* his enemy, by the Earles fauour, had vsurped *Vrbino*. This was the cause that *Gismondo* ioyned with the Duke, and sollicited the Pope & King to make warre vpon the Earle. Who to the end *Gismondo* should feele the first fruits of that warre which he desired, thought to preuent him, and sodeinly assailed him. Whereupon *Rome* & *La Marca* were on the soden brought into tumult, bicause *Philippo*, the king, and the Pope, sent great aide to *Gismondo*: and the *Venetians* and *Florentines* furnished the Earle, though with no men, yet with plentie of money. Neither was *Philippo* content to make warre in *Romagna*, but he also determined to take from the Earle *Cremona* and *Pontremoli*: yet was *Pontremoli* by the *Florentines*, and *Cremona* by the *Venetians* defended. So that by these meanes the warre in *Lombardy* was renewed, and therein somewhat done in *Cremonese*. *Francesco Puccinino* Generall for the Duke, was by *Micheletto*, and the *Venetian* forces at *Casale* defeated. By which victorie, the *Venetians* hoped to take the Dukes state from him, and sent their Commissarie to *Cremona*, assailing *Ghiraadaia*, and possessed all sauing *Cremona*. Afterwards they passed *Adda*, spoiling the countrey hard to the gates of *Milan*. Thereupon the Duke desired aide of *Alfonso*, declaring what perill would ensue to the kingdome, if *Lombardy* were in the *Venetians* hand. *Alfonso* promised to send him souldiers, who without consent of the Earle could with difficultie passe. Then *Philippo* intreated the Earle not to abandon his father in law being aged and blind. The Earle found himself offended with the Duke for hauing moued the warre against him. On the other side he misliked the greatnesse of the *Venetians*, his money grew low, and the same was scarcely supplied by the Lords of the League. For the *Florentines* feared no more the Duke, which was the cause they esteemed the Earle, and the *Venetians* desired his ruine, iudging that the state of *Lombardy* could not be taken from them but by the Earle. Notwithstanding, while *Philippo* sought to draw him into his pay, offering him the commaundement of all his souldiers, so that he would forsake the *Venetians* and restore *La Marca* to the Pope. They also sent Embassadors vnto him, promising him the possession of *Milan*, if they could win it, and the perpetuities in the government of their men of warre, if he would still follow the warre in *La Marca*, and impeach the comming of aide from *Alfonso* into *Lombardy*. Thus were the promises of the *Venetians* great, and their deserts of him greater, hauing begun that warre, to saue *Cremona* for the Earle. On the other part, the iniuries done by the Duke were fresh, his promises not faithfull nor great. Yet did the Earle much doubt what resolution to make. For of the one side, the obligation of the league, their well deseruing of him, and their promises of pleasures to come, did moue him. On the other, the intreatie of his Father in lawe, and chiefly the poison which hee feared to be hidden vnder the great promises of the *Venetians*, did stay him; suspecting least their promise of that state, if hee should hap to win it, might not be performed: hauing none other hold, but their bare promise, whereunto no wise Prince, vnlesse it were for great necessitie, had euer trusted. These difficulties of the

New warres
in Lombardy.

The Earle his
friendship de-
sired both by
the Duke and
Venetians.

Earles

Earles resolution, were remoued by the ambition of the *Venetians*, who hoping to surprize *Cremona* by meanes of some intelligenee they had within the Cittie, vnder another pretence caused their souldiers to marche neere vnto it. But that enterprife was discovered by those that guarded the towne for the Earle, whereby the treason tooke no effect, and they thereby wan not *Cremona*, but vtterly lost the loue of the Earle, who presently thereupon laying all respects apart, ioyned himselfe with the Duke. Now was Pope *Eugenio* dead, and in his place succeeded *Nicholao quinto*. The Earle had his whole Army at *Cotigniola*, readie to passe into *Lombardy*. Thither came newes, aduertising the death of *Philippo*, which was the last of August, in the yeare 1447. These newes grieued the Earle exceedingly, bicause he thought his army not fully paid, would be vnreadie, & feared least the *Venetians* being in armes, would become his enemies. For hauing abandoned them & ioyned with the Duke, he feared *Alfonso* his continuall enemy, not trusting either the Pope, or the *Florentines*. These, bicause they were in league with the *Venetians*, and the other, for that he did possesse some townes belonging to the Church. Notwithstanding, he determined to shew his face to fortune, and according to the chances therof to proceed. For many times by doing somewhat, secrets are discovered, which by standing stil could not be knowne. Great hope he conceiued in thinking, that if the *Milanesi* would be defended frō the ambition of the *Venetians*, that of force they must imploy him and his souldiers. Therof taking courage, he marched into the countrey of *Bologna*, and from thence to *Modena* and *Regio*, staying with his forces at *Lenza*, from whence he sent vnto *Milan* to offer his seruice. Some of the *Milanesi* hauing buried their Duke, desired to liue in libertie, and some others were contented to receiue a Prince. Of those which desired a Prince, some would haue the Earle, and some the King *Alfonso*, whereby those that loued libertie, being more vnited, became the stronger part, and framed after their faction a state and gouernment, which was neuertheless disoeyed by many Citties of the Dukedome, imagining that they might also (as *Milan* did) enioy their libertie. And others also, which aspired not thereunto, did likewise refuse to yeeld vnto the *Milanesi*. The Citties of *Lodi* & *Piacenza* gaue themselves to the *Venetians*. *Pauiā* & *Parma* would be free. The Earle vnderstanding these confusions, went vnto *Cremona*, whither his Embassadors and the Embassadors of *Milan* came with this cōclusiō, that he should remain Captain general of the *Milanesi*, with those conditions last set down by the Duke *Philippo*, adding thereunto that the Earle should haue *Brescia*, till he surprised *Verona*. And being possessed therof, to yeeld vp *Brescia*. Before the death of this Duke, Pope *Nicholo* at his assumptiō sought to make peace amongst all the Italian Princes. For the compassing whereof, by Embassadors he practised, that the *Florentines* should send vnto him at the time of his creation, desiring him to appoint a Parliament at *Farrara*, to procure therein either a long truce, or a perfect peace. Vpon which occasion in that Cittie assembled the Popes Legat, the Embassadors for the *Venetians*, Embassadors for the Duke, & Embassadors for the *Florentines*. But those which were looked for from King *Alfonso*, appeared not. This King was then at *Tiboli*, accompanied with many men of warre, both on foote and horseback. From thence he gaue countenance to the Duke, and it was thought that so soone as they had drawne the Earle to their side, they would openly assault the *Venetians* and *Florentines*. In the meane time, the Earles souldiers should remaine in *Lombardy*, & the peace to be entertained at *Farrara*, whither the King sent not, saying he would ratifie all things the Duke would assent vnto. This peace was many dayes consulted vpō, and after much disputation cōcluded, that either it should be perpetuall peace, or a truce for 5. yeares, at the election of the Duke, whose Embassadors being returned to *Milan* to vnderstād his pleasure, at their cōming thither found him

Death of
Duke Philip-
po of Milan.

The Earle
made Gene-
rall for the
Milanesi.

The Venetians
aspire to
vsurpe the
Duchie of
Milan.

King Alfonso
assaulteth the
Florentines.

dead. The *Milanesi* notwithstanding his death, would needs haue the conclusion of peace allowed. But the *Venetians* did not consent, hoping greatly to vsurpe that state. And the rather; bicause *Lodi* and *Piacenza* sodeinly after the Dukes death were yeelded vnto them: whereby they hoped, either by force or composition within short space to become Lords of all the territorie of *Milan*, and in the end so distresse the Cittie, as it should also be forced to yeeld before any man could rescue it. And the rather they thus perswaded themselues, for that they sawe the *Florentines* buisied in warre with King *Alfonso*. That King being at *Tiboli*, and intending to follow the enterprise of *Toscana*, as he had determined with *Philippo*, thinking therewith that the warre alreadie begun in *Lombardy*, would giue him time and commoditie desired; to haue one foote into the state of *Florence*, before such time as he would openly make the warre, and for that purpose practised to win the Castle *Cennina* in the vpper vale of *Arno*, and wan it. The *Florentines* striken with this vnlooked for accident, and seeing the King readie to march to their offence, hired souldiers, created the ten Magistrates, and according to their custome, prepared all things for the warre. By this time the King with his Army was come to the countrey of *Siena*, labouring by all meanes to bring that Cittie to fauour him. Notwithstanding, the Cittizens there stood firme in their friendship to the *Florentines*, and refused to receiue the King, either into *Siena*, or any other of their townes: yet did they provide him victuall, whereof the importunitie of the King, and the force of the enemy might excuse them. The King then thought not good to enter by the way of the vale of *Arno*, as he first determined, aswell for that he had spoiled *Cennina*, as bicause the *Florentines* were partly furnished with souldiers, & therefore marched towards *Volterra*, & surprized many Castles in the countrey thereto belonging. From thence, he marched into the countrey of *Pisa*, where, by the fauour of *Arrigo* and *Fatio*, Earles of *Chirardesca*, he tooke some Castles, and assaulted *Campiglia*, which being defended by the *Florentines* and the cold winter, he could not surprize. Then the King leauing certaine of his owne souldiers to guard the townes by him taken, and to defend the countrey, retired with the rest of his Army to his lodgings in the countrey of *Siena*. The *Florentines* fauoured by that season of the yeare, carefully laboured to prouide souldiers. Their chiefe leaders were *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*, and *Gismondo Malatesta* of *Rimino*. And albeit there was betwixt them two some disagreement, yet by the wisdome of *Neri*, and *Barnardetto di Medici*, (Commissaries for the *Florentines*) they agreed so well, that notwithstanding the hard winter continuing, they marched, and recovered those townes which were lost in the countrey of *Pisa*, and the *Ripomerancie* in the territorie of *Volterra*. They also bridled the Kings souldiers, who before had spoyled the sea coast, so as with difficultie they might defend the townes committed to their guard. But the Spring time being come, the Commissaries drew forth all their souldiers, to the number of 5000. horse, and 2000. footmen. And the King came with his, to the number of welneare fiftene thousand, besides 3000. at *Campiglia*. And when he intended to returne to the siege of that towne, he went to *Piombino*, hoping easily to win it, bicause the towne was not well furnished, he thought the hauing thereof profitable for him, and disaduantageous for the *Florentines*; bicause, from thence he might protract the warres, and consume them, hauing meane to victuall himselfe by sea, and disturbe the whole countrey of *Pisa*. This assault greatly displeased the *Florentines*, and cōsulting vpon the matter, thought that if they might with their Army remaine in the bounds of *Campiglia*, that the King should therby be inforced to depart either broken or dishonoured. For which purpose they armed foure small Gallies at *Liorno*, and with them put into the towne of *Piombino* three hundred footmen, placing them at the *Galdani*, a place where
with

with difficultie they might be assaulted. For if they were lodged in the plaine vpon the Confines, the same was thought dangerous. The *Florentines* receiued their victuals from the Townes thereabouts, which being but fewe and not much inhabited, did scarcely furnish them. So as the Armie suffered penurie, and most chiefly of wine: Because none being there made, nor brought thither from other places, it was impossible for euerie man to haue so much as should suffice him. But the King, notwithstanding he were by the *Florentines* straightly holden in, yet had he abundance almost of euerie prouision, by reason hee receiued it from the sea: The *Florentines* therefore thought good, likewise to make prooffe, if they might be by sea releued: and for that purpose loaded their Gallies with victuall, and sent them thither. But in their passage they were encountred with seuen of the Kings Gallies, which tooke two of them, and suncke the others. This losse bereft the *Florentine* souldiers, of hope to be reuictualled. Thereupon two hundreth or more Pyoners for want of drinke fled vnto the Kings Campe: the rest of the souldiers mutined, complayning that in those hote places they could not remaine without wine, because water was there most vnwholesome. So that the Commissaries determined to abandon that place, and imploy their forces to recouer certaine Castles which remained in the Kings hand. Who on the other side, although he wanted not victual, being in force the stronger, yet was his Camp afflicted with sicknesse, bred there, by the infection of the aire, nere vnto the sea: by mean wherof, almost euerie man was infected, and many of them also died. These occasions ministred communication of peace, wherein the King demaunded fiftie thousand Florins, and *Piombino* to be left at his discretion. The matter being debated at *Florence*, by many desirous of peace, the demands were thought reasonable. For they were perswaded a war so chargeable as that was, could not without great expence be maintained. Notwithstanding *Neri Capponi* went vnto *Florence*, and there with such reasons as he made, altered their minds: Dis-swading them vterly to accept those conditions: and the *Florentines* receiued the Lord of *Piombino* as recommended; promising both in time of warre and peace to defend him, if he would, (as hitherto he had) fight couragiously in defence of his owne Citie. The King vnderstanding this resolution, and seeing his owne Campe afflicted with sicknesse, brake vp, and retired with the rest into the country of *Siena*; leauing behinde him two thousand dead bodies. From thence he marched towards the kingdome, and being exceedingly offended with the *Florentines*, threatned the next Spring to make vppon them a new warre. While matters were thus handled in *Toscana*, the Earle *Francesco* became Generall of the *Milanesi*, and before anie thing done, obtained the friendship of *Francesco Piccinino*, who had likewise serued them, which he did, to the end that his enterprises might be the more fauoured, and by *Piccinino* the lesse impeached. Then marched he with his Armie to the field, whereby the Citizens of *Paui*a, fearing they could not defend themselves, and being on the other side, vnwilling to obey the *Milanesi*, offered him the Towne, with condition that he should not deliuer it to them. The Earle greatly desired the possession of that Citie, thinking that the hauing thereof would be a good beginning to colour his intent, being neither deteined with feare, nor abashed to breake his faith. For great men do call losse, a thing dishonourable, but to compassse their desire by craft, is accounted no shame at all. Notwithstanding he doubted, least his taking of the Towne in this sort, would so offend the *Milanesi*, as for that cause, they would yeeld themselves to the *Venetians*: and if it were not taken by him, then he feared the Duke of *Sauoia*, to whom many of the Citizens were willing to giue it. So as by euerie of those meanes, hee thought himselfe bereft of the dominion of *Lombardy*: yet supposing it lesse perill, to take the Citie for himselfe then leaue it to an other, determined

The Milanese
icalious of the
Earle.

mined to accept it, being perswaded it was notwithstanding possible to content the *Milanese*: whom he enformed of those perils wherunto they should fall, if he accepted not the Citie of *Paui*. For that Citie (if it were by him refused) would yeelde to the *Venetians* or the Duke of *Sauoia*, in either of which cases, their countrey should be lost, and therefore thought rather be contented to haue him their neighbour and friend, then any other that were more mightie, and their enemy. The *Milanese* were much troubled with this matter, imagining that the Earle had thereby discovered his ambition, and the end wherunto he tended. Yet thought they not good, to take knowledge thereof, because leauing the Earle, they sawe not whither to adresse themselves, vnlesse it were to the *Venetians*, whose pride and hard dealing they mistrusted. Wherefore they resolved, not to shake off the Earle, but for the present, by him to be deliuered of those inconueniencies, hoping after to be also deliuered of himselfe. For they were not onely assaulted by the *Venetians*, but also by the *Genouesi* and the Duke of *Sauoia*, who made warre in the name of *Carlo* of *Orliens*, sonne to the sister of *Philippo*. But the Earle easily withstood their mallice. Then were the *Venetians* his only enemies, who with a mightie Armie determined to surprize that state, and had already possessed *Lodi*, and *Piacenza*, wherunto the Earle brought his camp: and after a long siege sacked that Citie. Which done, (because the winter was already come) he retired his men to their lodgings, and went himselfe to *Cremona*, where with his wife he rested all that winter. But the spring being come, the Armies of the *Venetians* and *Milanese*, returned to the field. The *Milanese* desired to surprize *Lodi*, and after make peace with the *Venetians*. Because the charges of warre did burthen them, and the fidelitie of their General was suspected. For these reasons they wished a peace, as well to repose themselves, as to be assured of the Earle. Then they resolved, their Army should besiege *Carranaggio*, hoping that *Lodi* would yeeld, so soone as the Castle could be taken from the enemy. The Earle obeyed the *Milanese*, although his intent was to haue passed *Adda*, and assault the country of *Brescia*. The siege being laid to the Castle of *Carranaggio*, hee trenched and fortified his Campe, least happily the *Venetians* would assaile him. The *Venetians* on the other side, conducted by *Micheletto* their Generall, marched within two bowes shot off the Earles Campe, where diuerse dayes both the Armies remained, the one many times offending the other. Notwithstanding, the Earle still besieged the castle, & did so straightly distresse it, as it was readie to yeeld: which greatly displeased the *Venetians*; fearing that the losse thereof would be the ruine of all the enterprize. Great disputation arose among their Captaines, by what meanes it might be succoured. But no other way could be deuised, then to assault the enemies in their trenches, which was exceeding dangerous. Notwithstanding so greatly they esteemed the losse of that Castle, as the *Senate* of *Venice* (beeing naturally fearefull to meddle with any matter either doubtful or dangerous) did chuse rather to hazard all, then with the losse of that, to lose the enterprize. They resolved therefore by all meanes to assault the Earle, & one morning early charged him on that side where they thought he was weakest. At the first charge (as it happeneth in those assaults which be not looked for) all the Armie was dismaid. Notwithstanding, the Earle sodeinly repaired the disorders, & had handled the matter so, that notwithstanding many assaults, the enemies were forced in the end, not onely to retire, but also were so pursued: that of their Camp (which was twelue thousand horse) not one thousand was saued. All their goods were spoyled, and their carriages taken. So as neuer before that time the *Venetians* received any ouerthrow greater, or more terrible. Among the spoyle and prisoners taken in this conflict, was the *Venetian* *Proueditor*, who before that skirmish, and after during the wars, had vsed diuerse opprobrious words of the Earle, calling him Bastard and Coward.

The Venetians
defeated
by the Earle
Francisco.

Coward. But being become prisoner, remembering what hee had deserued, and brought to the Earles presence: according to the nature of proud & cowardly men (which is to be in prosperitie insolent, and in aduersitie abiect & vile) kneeled down before him; weeping, & desiring pardon of his offences. The Earle tooke him vp by the arme, comforted him, and willed him to be of good cheare. And afterwards said, that he maruelled much how a man of his wisdom & grauitie, could commit so great an error, as to speake euill of them that had not so deserued. And touching the matter of slaunders, he knew not in what sort *Sforza* his father, had vsed his mother *Madonna Lucia*, because he was not there present. So as of that which was done by them he could receiue neither blame nor commendation. But for his owne doings, he knew well, that nothing was by any man to be reprooued: and thereof both he and his *Senate* could fully and truly witness with him. Whereof hee wished him afterwards to be more modest in speech, and in his proceedings more discreet. After this victorie, the Earle with his tryumphant Campe, marched to the territorie of *Brescia*, and possessing all that country, setled his Campe within two myles of the Citie. The *Venetians* on the other side, hauing receiued this ouerthrow, feared, (as it came to passe) that *Brescia* would be first assaulted, speedily as they might, made prouision, and with all diligence, leuied forces, ioyning them to those that remained of the old Campe. Therewith also by vertue of the League, desired aid of the *Florentines*. Who being free from the warre of King *Alfonso*, sent vnto them one thousand footemen, and two thousand horse. The *Venetians* by hauing these souldiers, gained time to entreate of peace. It hath bene long time a thing fatall to the *Venetian* state, to lose by warre, and recouer the losse by composition. And those things which by the warres are taken from them, by the peace many times be restored double. The *Venetians* knew well, that the *Milanesi* mistrusted the Earle, and that he desired not to be their Captaine, but aspired to the principallitie of *Milan*. Also that it was in their choise to make peace with either of them: the one desiring it for ambitio, the other for feare. Then they chose to make peace with the Earle, and deferred their aide for that enterprise: being perswaded, that if the *Milanesi* found themselves deceiued by the Earle, they might grow so offended, as they would giue themselves rather to anie other, then to him. Being then brought to this passe that they could not defende themselves, nor would trust vnto the Earle, they should be enforced, (not hauing other refuge) to trust vnto the *Venetians*. This resolution made, they sounded the disposition of the Earle, and found him greatly disposed to the peace: as desirous that the victorie of *Carranaggio* might be his, and not the *Milaneses*. Then was there a composition concluded, wherein the *Venetians* bound themselves to paie vnto the Earle, so long as he deferred the taking of *Milan*, thirteene thousand Florines for euerie moneth: and during the rest of the warre, to aide him with foure thousand horse, and two thousand footemen. And the Earle for his part did binde himselfe to restore to the *Venetians*, all Townes, prisoners, and euerie other thing by him taken, and rest contented with those Townes onely, which the Duke *Philippo* at his death possessed. This agreement being knowne in *Milan*, did bring much more sorrow to that Citie, then the victorie of *Carranaggio* had giuen gladnesse. The chiefe Magistrates lamented, the people were sorrowfull, the women and children wept, and all with one voyce, called the Earle disloyall and traytour. For although they beleued not, either by intreatie or promises, to diuert him from his vnthankful intent, yet sent they Embassadors to see with what face, and with what words, hee would maintaine his wickednesse. Who being come to the presence of the Earle, one of them spake to this effect. Those that desire to obtaine any thing of others, were wont by entreatie, gifts, or threatnings, to perswade them. So that, either by com-

The Venetians fortunate.

Peace betweene the Earle and Venetians, without consent of the Milanesi.

The Oration of the Milanesi to the Earle.

pasion,

passion, by profit, or feare, they might compass the thing which they desired. But of cruell men, & couetous, being in their owne opinion mightie (those three means not preuailing) nothing is obtained: so as whosoever doth trust by entreatie to make them pittifull, or by gifts to winne them, or by threatnings to feare them, deceiueth himselfe. We therefore now knowing (though all too late) thy crueltie, thy ambition, and thy pride, are come vnto thee, not requiring any thing, nor hoping (though we had such desire) to obtaine it, but to put thee in remembrance what benefites thou hast receiued of the *Milanesi*, and laie before thee, with what ingratitude thou doest requite them. To the end, that among so many iniuries by vs endured, wee may take this only pleasure, to reprove thee. Thou oughtst to remember wel, what thy state and condition was, after the death of Duke *Philippo*. Thou wert enemy to the Pope and the King. Thou wert abandoned by the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, who either iustly offended with thee, or hauing no more neede of thee, wert become as their enemy. Thou wert weary of the war which thou hadst made with the church; Thou hadst fewe men, fewe friends, litle money, and bereft of all hope to be able to hold thine owne countrey, and thy auncient reputation: which should easily haue bene taken from thee, had not our simplicitie helped. For we onely receiued thee, perswaded with the reuerence we bare to the happie memorie of our Duke, vnto whom thou (being allied) didst make vs belieue, that his loue would haue continued in his heires. And sith to his benefits, we ioyned ours, that fauour and friendship ought to haue bene, not onely firme, but also inseparable. In respect whereof, to the auncient composition, we ioyned *Verona* & *Brescia*. What could we more giue thee or promise thee? And what couldst thou either of vs or any others, in those dayes either haue or desire more? Thou hast receiued of vs a pleasure vnlooked for, and we for recompence, haue receiued of thee, a displeasure not deserued. Neither hast thou deferred thus long to shew thy pride. For thou wert no sooner General of our Armie, but contrary to iustice thou didst receiue *Pavia*: which ought to haue warned vs, to what end thy friendship tended. Which iniurie we bare, supposing that victorie with the greatnesse thereof, would haue satisfied thy ambition. But (alasse) those who desire all, cannot with inough be contented. Thou didst promise that we should enioy all things after that time by thee wonne. For thou knewest well, that which thou gauest at many times, thou mightest resume at once: as it came to passe after the victorie of *Carrauaggio*; which being begun with bloud & mony, was after followed with our destruction. O how vnhappy are those Cities which be constrained to defend their liberties: against the ambition of all those that wold oppresse them: but much more vnhappy be they that are inforced to imploy in their defence, mercinarie and disloyall souldiers, such as thou art. God graunt that this our example may be a warning to others hereafter: sith that of *Thebe* and *Philip of Macidon*, hath not warned vs. Who hauing wonne victorie of their enemies, became of their owne Captaine, first their enemy, and after their Prince. We may not therefore be blamed of other fault, then to haue trusted too much in thee, whom we ought not to haue trusted at all. For thy former life, & thy insatiable mind, not contented with any honour or estate, might haue forewarned vs. Neither ought we to haue reposed any trust in thee, who had betraied the Lord of *Lucca*, fleesed the *Florentines* and *Venetians*, litle esteemed the Duke, nor regarded the King, and aboue all, with many iniuries offended God and his Church. Neither ought we euer to haue beleued, that so many Princes had lesse power of *Francesco Sforza*, then the *Milanesi*; or that he would keep his faith to vs, which to so many others he had broken. But this our small wisdom which we do blame in our selues, doth not excuse thy breach of faith, nor purge thee of those infamies, which our iust complaints shall disperse throughout

out the world. Neither can it be, but that the pricke of thine owne conscience will persecute thee. For those Armes which were prepared by vs, to assault others, must now by thy meanes offend our selues: so as thou wilt iudge thy selfe worthe of that punishment which murderers haue deserued. If ambition hath blinded thee, all the world being witness of thy wickednesse, will force thee to open thine eyes. God also will cause thee to behold thy periuries, thy faith broken, & thy treasons. Which things so greatly displease him, that although hitherto, for some hidden good, hee hath not punished, yet will he neuer fauour men so impiously disposed. Do not therefore promise thy selfe a victorie certaine, sith the iust ire of God will impeach it, and we are determined with losse of libertie to lose our liues. Which if we be not able to defend, then haue we rather to submit our selues to anie other Prince then to thy selfe. For if our sinnes be such, as against our willes we must fall into thy hands, be assured, a dominion begunne with craft and infamie, shall either in thee or thy children, end with dishonour and shame. The Earle notwithstanding he felt himselfe by the *Milanesi* many waies touched, yet shewed he no extraordinarie chaunge, either by word or lecture: but answered hee was content to beare their chollor, and the great iniurie of their vnwise words. Whereunto he would answer particularly, if they were before a Iudge indifferent to determine the cōtrouersie. For it should appeare that he had not offended the *Milanesi*, but prouided that they should not iniurie him. And well he knew, after the victorie of *Carrauaggio* what they had done: when instead of rewarding him with *Verona* or *Brescia*, they sought to make peace with the *Venetians*. To the end, that vpon him onely the displeasure should be laide: and they to enioy the profit of the victorie, with the honor of the peace, and all the commoditie reaped by the warre. So as they had no cause to complaine, though he had made that composition which they practised to bring to passe. Which resolution being deferred, they were as much to blame their owne ingratitude, as find fault with him: and whether this were true or not, that God (whom they had called to reuenge their iniuries) would by the end of the war shew whom he most fauoured, or which partie did fight with most iustice. The Embassadors being departed, the Earle prepared to assaile the *Milanesi*, and they made readie for defence. Then with the vertue of *Francesco* and *Giacopo Piccinino* (who for the auncient hatred the *Braccheschi* bare to the *Sforzeschi*, had bene to the *Milanesi* faithfull) they hoped to defend their libertie: at the least, till such time as they might disunite the *Venetians* and the Earle, who they thought would not be long his friends nor faithfull. On the other side, the Earle knowing thereof, supposed it was wisdom, to binde the *Venetians* by reward, which would holde sure, though the bond of friendship were too weake. And therefore in giuing order for the war, he was content that they should assault *Crema*, and hee with other forces would set vpon the rest of that countrey. This composition laide before the *Venetians*, was the occasion that they continued so long in the Earles friendship, till he had surprized all the dominion of the *Milanesi*, and distressed the Towne so neare, as the dwellers therein could not make prouision of things necessarie. In so much, as despairing of all other aide, they sent Embassadors to *Venice*, desiring the *Senate* to haue compassion of their estate, and be pleased, (according to the custome of Common-weales) to fauour libertie, and disfauor a Tyrant. Who preuailing and become Lord of *Milan*, could not be by the *Venetians* easily brideled. For they beleued not, that he was content with the auncient conditions of the state, but aspired further. The *Venetians* not hauing yet the possession of *Crema* (which before they chaunged countenance, they determined to haue) answered publikely, that in respect of the contract made with the Earle, they might not helpe the *Milanesi*, yet priuately they entertained the Embassadors with hope, that

The Earles
answere.

Expostulation
of the Floren-
tines, to the
Senate of Ve-
nice.

The Venetians desirous to abandon the Earle.

Cosimo de Medici, friend to the Earle Francesco.

Neri Capponi against the Earle.

that a composition was likely to be made, and then, they should assure their *Senate* to trust vnto them. The Earle with his men was alreadye so near *Milan*, as they assaulted the suburbes, and the *Venetians* hauing taken *Crema*, thought good no longer to deferre the aiding of the *Milanesi* with whom they compounded. Among the first Articles, they promised by all meanes to defend their libertie. This new contract made, they commaunded that all their souldiers seruing vnder the Earle, should depart from him, and retire themselues to the *Venetians* Campe. They also signified vnto the Earle, the peace concluded with the *Milanesi*, to whom they had giuen twentie daies space to accept it. The Earle maruelled not at this resolution taken by the *Venetians*, because that long before he had foreseene it, and looked the same should euerie day come to passe. Yet could he not but be sorie, and feele the same offence, which the *Milanesi* did, when he abandoned them. For answering of the Embassadors sent from *Venice* to declare the League, he tooke the leisure of two daies. During which time, he determined to enterteine the *Venetians*, and not abandon the enterprise. And therefore publikely said, he would allow the peace, and sent Embassadors to *Venice*, with a large Commission to ratifie the same: yet secretly he commaunded them, not to conclude, but with delaies and cauillations, to deferre the conclusion. And to make the *Venetians* the rather beleue, that which hee spake, hee made truce with the *Milanesi* for one moneth: retyring his Campe farre from the Citie, and diuiding his forces into other places neare hand, which he had lately wonne. This practise was occasion of his victorie, for the *Venetians* trusting to the peace, were more slow in preparation to the warre, and the *Milanesi* seeing the truce made, the enemye farre off, and the *Venetians* their friends, beleued assuredly that the Earle would abandon the enterprise. Which determination, by two means hindred them. The first was, because they neglected to prepare for their own defence. The other, for that they laid the countrey open to the enemye. For the time then being fit to till the earth, they sowed great store of corne: by meane whereof, the Earle might the more easily famish them. To the Earle on the other side, all those thinges helped, which hindered the enemye: and besides the delaie gaue him commoditie to take breath, and prouide for aide. In all this warre of *Lombardy*, the *Florentines* were not discovered to be of any side, nor to haue fauoured the Earle, either when he defended the *Milanesi*, nor after. For the Earle hauing had no need, did not verie earnestly seeke it. Onely after the ouerthrow of *Carrauaggio*, by vertue of their Obligation in the League, they sent aide to the *Venetians*. But the Earle *Francesco* being alone, and wanting other refuge, was enforced instantly to praie aide of the *Florentines*, both of the state publikely, & of his friends priuately: chiefly of *Cosimo de Medici*, with whom he had euer bene in great familiaritie, and was by him in all his actions faithfully counselled, and liberally supplied. Neither did *Cosimo* in this so great a necessitie forsake him: for as a private man he bountifully releued him, and to follow the enterprise encouraged him. Hee also entreated the Cittie publikely to assise him where need required. At that time liued in *Florence*, *Neri* the sonne of *Gino Capponi*, a Citizen of great power, who thought it not good for the Citie, that the Earle should possesse *Milan*, supposing it more profitable for *Italy*, that hee should ratifie the peace, then prosecute the warre. First he doubted least the *Milanesi* for the displeasure they bare to the Earle, would yeeld wholly to the *Venetians*, which would be the ruine of euerie man. Then he iudged if the Earle should happen to surprize *Milan*, that so great forces and countries ioyned together, were to be feared. And if he were insupportable, being an Earle, aspired to the title of Duke, no man should endure his pride. Wherefore, he thought better both for the Common-weale of *Florence*, and all *Italy*, that the Earle should continue with his reputation in Armes, and

and *Lombardy* to be diuided into two common-weales, which would neuer ioyne in the offence of an other, and one of them alone, could not offend: and for bringing this to passe, he saw no better meane, then not to aide the Earle, and maintain the old league with the *Venetians*. These reasons were not of the friends of *Cosimo* accepted: because they thought that *Neri* did make them, not because he thought them good for the common-weale, but for that he would not, that the Earle being friend to *Cosimo*, should aspire to be Duke. Fearing least by that means, *Cosimo* should become ouer mighty: & *Cosimo* contrariwise proued, that aiding of the Earle, was both for *Italy* & that common-weale most profitable. And that it was no wise conceit, to thinke that the *Milanesi* could continue free, because the qualitie of their citie, their maner of life, & the factions inueterated there, were contrary to the forme of all ciuil gouernment: so as, it behoued that the Earle should become Duke, or els the *Venetians* wold possesse it. And in that choise, there was no man so witleffe, that knew not whether it were better to haue at hand a mightie neighbour, or a more mightie enemy. Neither could he thinke it to be doubted, that the *Milanesi* (for hauing warre with the Earle) would yeeld their obedience to the *Venetians*. For the Earle hauing a factiō in *Milan*, & not they, whēsoeuer they could not defend themselues as free, they wold rather yeeld to the Earle, then to the *Venetians*. These diuersities of opinions held the citie doubtful what to determine. Neuerthelesse in the end was cōcluded: that Embassadors should be sent to the Earle to entertein a peace, & if they found him strong or likely to haue the victory, then to conclude: or not, to vse cauillations & delaies. These Embassadors were at *Reggio*, before they vnderstood that the Earle was become Lord of *Milā*. For the Earle so soone as the time of truce was ended, enuironed the citie with souldiers, hoping within short space, in despight of the *Venetians*, to surprize it: because they were not able to succour it, sauing on that side towards *Adda* which passage, might easily be impeached, and it was not feared, (the winter being come) that the *Venetians* would encamp there. Also the Earle hoped, before the winter should passe, to haue the victory, and the rather by the death of *Francesco Piccinni*, who had only left *Giacopo* his brother to gouerne the *Milanesi*. The *Venetians* had sent an Embassador to *Milan*, to encourage those Citizens to stand to their owne defence, promising them great and speedie supplie. During that winter, some light skirmishes happened betwixt the *Venetians* and the Earle. But so soone as the season suffered, the *Venetians* vnder the conduct of *Pandolfo Malatesta*, brought their Army to *Adda*: where they consulted, whether it was best to assault the Earle, and thereby trieth their fortune. *Pandolfo* their Capteine, thought not good to make that triall, in respect of the Earles vertue, and the sufficiency of his armie: but hoped it was possible without fighting more safely to oppresse him: because the Earle at that present, was with the lacke of corne greatly distressed. His aduise therefore was, that the campe should not dislodge, wherby the *Milanesi* might stil hope of ayd, and not by despair yeeld them to the Earle. This opiniō was by the *Venetians* allowed, as wel in respect of securitie, as that they thought the *Milanesi*, being in so great necessitie, should be enforced to yeeld to their dominion, persuaded that they wold neuer giue themselues to the Earle, by whō they had bin many waies iniured. In this meane space the *Milanesi* were broght almost into extreme misery, & in that citie (naturally abounding with poore people) many died of fainin, wherat the inhabitants murmured and cōplained. The magistrats therby grew afraid, & carefully prouided that the people should not gather together. For although the multitude doth not hastily dispose it self to mischief, yet whē it happē to be fully bēt, euery litle accidēt doth moue it. It happened that 2. men of mean cōditiō, were near to the new gate, talking of the calamities of the city, & their misery, deuising what means might be wroght for redres therof.

The Venetians aide the Milanesi against the Earle.

Others drew vnto them, till they were a good number. Therby a brute was blowne through *Milan*, that the inhabitants neare to the new gate were alreadie in Armes. Then all the multitude (which aspected onely occasion) tooke Armes and created *Gasparo da Vicomercato* their Captain, & went to the place where the magistrates were assembled: whom they so terrified, that so many as could, did flee, the rest were slain. Among whom *Leonardo Veniero*, the *Venetian* Embassador was murdered: who had before that time reioyced at their miserie, and was thought to haue bene the occasion of the mischiefe and famine. Thus the multitude (as Lords of the Citie) among themselues consulted, what was to be done, to deliuer them from so manifold sorowes, wherinto they were entred. And euery man thought good to yeeld the citie (sith the libertie could not be preferued) to some Prince that were able to defend it. Some said to the king *Alfonso*, some to the Duke of *Sauoia*, & some to the French king. Of the Earle no mā made mentiō, so great was yet the offence of the people towards him. Notwithstanding seeing they could not resolue vpon any, *Gasparo Vicomercato* was the first that named the Earle: declaring at large, that if they would be discharged of the warre, there was no other way but to chuse him; because the people of *Milan* had necessitie of certain & present peace, & could not tarry long in hope of future relief. Moreouer he excused the actions of the Earle, accusing the *Venetians*, and all the other Princes of *Italy*, because they would not, some for ambition, & some for couetise, that *Milan* should continue free. And therefore being forced to depart with libertie, it was best to yeeld to such a one, as could & would defend it. So as by that seruitude, they might at the least gain peace without further losse, or war more dangerous. This speech was with great attentio hearkned vnto, & euery man with one voice cōsented that the Earle should be chosen, and *Gasparo* was made Embassador to call him: who by commandement of the people, went vnto the Earle to present him this pleasant & happie newes. The Earle willingly accepted the same & entered into *Milan* as Prince, the 26. of February, in the yere 1450. And was there with exceeding gladnes receiued, eue by those who not lōg before had hated & defamed him. The newes of this victory being brought to *Florence*, order was taken with the Embassadors sent frō thence (and were already vpon the way towards the Earle) that in stead of entreaty of peace with him as Earle, they shuld cōgratulate the victory as Duke. These Embassadors were by the Duke honorably receiued, & bountifully entertained. For he knew wel that against the power of the *Venetians*, he could not find in all *Italy*, more faithful nor more mighty friends, then the *Florentines*. Who hauing remoued feare of the *Visconti*, thought they should be forced to fight with *Aragon* & *Venice*. Because the house of *Aragon* then Kings of *Naples*, was their enemie in respect of the friendship by them borne to the house of *France*: and the *Venetians* knew that the auncient feare of the *Visconti*, was fresh, and that carefully they had persecuted them; wherefore doubting the like persecution, sought their ruine. These matters were the occasion that the new Duke was easily induced to friend the *Florentines*, and that the *Venetians* and the King *Alfonso*, agreed to ioyne against their common enemie: binding themselues at one selfe time, to take armes; & that the King should assault the *Florentines*, and the *Venetians* set vpon the Duke. Who being new in the state, was not (as they thought) neither able with his owne forces to withstand them, nor with the aide of others could be defended. Yet because the league betwixt the *Florentines* and *Venetians* continued, and that the King after the warrs of *Piombino* had made peace with them, they thought not good to breake that peace, till such time as they had some colour to make warre. Wherefore both the one & the other, sent Embassadors to *Florence*, to signifie in the behalf of their Lords, that the league was made not to offend any man, but to defend their Countries.

Gasparo Vi.
comercato his
counsell.

The Earle
Francesco be-
come Duke of
Milan. 1450.

League be-
twixt King Al-
fonso and the
Venetians.

Embassadors
from Venice
to Florence.

And

And moreouer the *Venetians* complained, that the *Florentines* had giuen passage to *Alisandro*, brother to the Duke of *Lunigiana*, whereby he with his forces passed into *Lombardy*: and that they were also the Authors and Councillours, to make the agreement betwixt the Duke and the Marquesse of *Mantoua*. All which things (they said) were preiudiciall to their state, and the friendship betwixt them. Wherefore friendly wished thē to remember, that who so offendeth an other wrongfully, doth giue occasion to him that is offended, iustly to seek reuenge: and he that breaketh the peace, must euer looke to find war. The answer of this Embassage was by the *Senate* committed to *Cosimo*: who in a long and wise Oration, laid before them all the benefits which his citie had bestowed vpon the *Venetian* common-weale. Declaring how great dominion they had wonne by means of the mony, the men, & counsel, of the *Florentines*. And assured them, that sith the *Florentines* did occasion the friendship, no cause of warre should euer proceed from them. For they hauing bene euer louers of peace, commended greatly the agreement betwixt them, so as for peace, and not for war the same were made. But he marvelled much of the *Venetian* complaints, & that of so small & vain matters, so great a common-weale wold make account. But if they had bene worthie consideration, yet was it knowne to the world, that the *Florentine* country was free, and open to all men, and the Duke was such a one as to win friendship with *Mantoua*, had no need, either of counsel or fauour. Wherefore he doubted, that these complaints, had vnder them hidden, some secret poison not yet perceiued. Which so being, euery man should easily vnderstand, that as the *Florentines* friendship did profit them, so their displeasure could hinder them. Thus for that time the matter was lightly passed ouer, & the Embassadors seemed to depart wel inough contented. Notwithstanding, the league being made, the maner of the *Venetians* and the Kings proceedings, did occasiō the *Florentines* & the Duke, rather to looke for some new war, then hope of firme peace. Therefore the *Florentines* ioyned in league with the Duke, & in the mean while, the euil disposition of the *Venetians* was discouered: because they made league with the *Sanesi*, & banished all the *Florentines*, with euery other person subiect to the state of *Florence*. Shortly after, the king *Alfonso* did the like, without any respect to the peace made the yeare before, & without iust cause or coloured occasion. The *Venetians* laboured to gain the possession of *Bologna*, & for that purpose aided the banished men of that Citie, who with many others, found means in the night to enter the towne. They were no sooner within the walles, but themselves made an Alarum. Whereat *Santi Bentiuogli* suddainly start vp, and knowing that the Citie was surprized by Rebels: (although hee were by many friendes counselled, by fleeing to saue his life) yet would he in any wise shew his face to Fortune, take armes, and encourage others to do the like. He therefore with some others, made head & assaulted part of the Rebels, and brake them; slaying many, and forcing therest to flee the Citie. Whereuppon euery man iudged, that hee had made good prooffe to be of the right race of *Bentiuogli*. These actions, brought vnto *Florence* a firme beliefe of the future warre. Therefore the *Florentines* resorting to their auncient orders, created the ten Magistrates for the war, entertained new Captaines, sent Embassadors to *Rome*, to *Naples*, to *Venice*, & to *Siena*, to procure aid of their friends, discover suspects, gaine the good will of those that were neutrall, and sounde the determination of enemies. Of the Pope they could get nothing but general words, curtesie, and perswasion to peace. Of the King they vnderstood only his vaine excuses for discharging the *Florentines*, and offered to giue safe conduct to euerie man that desired it. And albeit he went about by all meanes, to conceale the intention of the new warre, yet the Embassadors knewe well his euill meaning, and detected manie dealinges of his, to the disaduauntage of their Common-weale.

The Embassador answered.

League betwene the Florentines and Duke.

Preparation for warre in Florence.

With the Duke they renewed the League, fortifying the same with sundrie Obligations: and by his meanes gained the good will of the *Genouesi*: cancelling all former quarrels. Notwithstanding that the *Venetians* had laboured manie wayes, to impeach that composition, and intreated the Emperour of *Constantinople* to banish from his countries all the *Florentine* Nation. So greatly they grew into hate by this war, and so great force had their desire of gouernment, as without respect, they sought to oppresse those who were the cause of their greatnesse. Neuerthelesse by that Emperour they were not hearkened vnto. The Embassadours for the *Florentines*, were by the *Venetian* Senate forbidden to enter into their Countrey: alleaging that they being in league with the King, might not (without his priuie) giue them audience. The *Sanesi* entertained the Embassadours with courteous words, fearing to be surprized before the league could defende them: and therefore thought good not to stirre those Armes, which they were not able to resist. The *Venetians* and the King (as was then coniectured) would haue sent Embassadors to *Florence*, to iustifie the warre. But the Embassadour for the *Venetians*, would not enter into the *Florentines* dominion, and the Kings Embassador durst not alone execute that message. Whereby the Embassage was not performed. And the *Venetians* by meanes thereof, knew that they were litle esteemed of the *Florentines*, they (a few months past) esteemed not much. During the feare of these motiōs, whō the Emperour *Federigo* the third, came into *Italy* to be crowned, the thirtie day of January, in the yeare 1451. And entring into *Florence* with a thousand fiue hundred horses, was by that Cittie, most honourably receiued and entertained, till the sixt of February. At which time hee tooke his iourney from thence towards his Coronation at *Rome*, where he was solemnly Crowned and married to the Emperesse, being comethither by sea. These ceremonies performed, the Emperour returned towards *Germany*, and came againe to *Florence* in the moneth of May: where he was vsed with the same honours he had there before receiued. Also in his returne, hauing bene pleased by the Marquesse of *Farrara*, for recompence the Emperour granted vnto him the Cities of *Modina* & *Reggio*. During all these doings, the *Florentines* omitted not their preparation for the war, giuing themselues reputation, and the enemie terror. They and the Duke ioyned league with the French King, for defence of all their countries in generall. Which league with great magnificence and reioycing, they published throughout all *Italy*. By this time was come the yere 1452. when in May, the *Venetians* thought good no longer to deferre the warre against the Duke. Wherefore with sixteene thousand horse, and sixe thousand footemen, they assaulted him towards *Lodi*: and at the same time the Marquesse of *Monferato*, either prouoked by his owne ambition, or by the *Venetians* request, assaulted him on the other side, towards *Alessandria*. The Duke on the contrary part, had assembled eightheene thousand horse, and three thousand footemen. And hauing furnished *Alessandria* and *Lodi*, he likewise fortified all those places which the enemie might offend. Thē with his souldiers he assaulted the country of *Brescia*, where he greatly endamaged the *Venetians*, spoiling that country, & sacking those townes which were not strong. But the Marquesse of *Monferato* being broken by the Dukes forces at *Alessandria*, the Duke might with the more strength encounter the *Venetians*, & assault their country. Thus the war of *Lombardy* proceeding, & therein sundry accidents (not worthe memorie) hapning: it came to passe, that the like war begun in *Toscana* betwixt the King *Alfonso*, & the *Florentines*: which was performed with no more vertue, nor more peril, thē that of *Lōbardy*. *Ferrādo* the bastard son of *Alfonso*, came into *Italy*, with 12000. souldiers, conducted by *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*. Their first enterprife was to assault *Foiano* in the vale of *Chiana*: for hauing frendship of the *Sanesi*, they might that way

The Emperour Federigo in Florence.

The Duke of Milan assaulted.

Foiano assaulted by Ferrando.

way enter into the territorie of *Florence*. That Castle was weakly walled, and of smal receipt, therefore with no great number defended, yet those few in the Castle were accounted at that time valiant and loyall souldiers. The number sent by the *Senate* to guard that Castle, were 200. This Castle in that sort prepared, was by *Ferrando* besieged: and the vertue of those within so great, and so litle the value of them without, that till the end of 36. dayes it was not wonne. The protract of which time, gaue the Cittie commoditie to prouide to defend other places of more moment, to assemble their forces, & put them in readinesse. The enemy hauing takē this Castle, passed into *Chianti*, where they set vpon two small towns belonging to priuate men, & could not win them; but marched from thence, and besieged *Castellina*, a fortresse seated vpon the confines of *Chianti*, within ten myles of *Siena*; which place both by Art and Nature is exceeding weake: notwithstanding (so base was the courage of this Campe) as it could not conquer that Castle of no force at all. For after they had besieged it 44. dayes, they departed thence with shame. So smal terror was in those armies, and so litle peril in those wars, as those townes which at this day are abandoned as impossible to be kept, at that time, as places impregnable, were defended. During that *Ferrando* remained with his Camp in *Chianti*, he made many roades into the *Florentines* country, spoiling that Prouince within sixe miles of the Cittie, to the great losse and terror of the *Florentine* subiects. Who hauing by that time prepared forces to the number of eight thousand, vnder the conduct of *Astore di Faenza*, and *Gismondo Malatesti*, held the enemy aloofe towards the Castle of *Colle*, fearing alwaies they should be forced to fight, and thought, that if they lost not that day, they could not lose the warre. Because the small Castles being lost, might be recouered by peace, and the great townes were assured, by reason the enemy was not able to assaile them. The King had also vpon the sea neare to *Pisa*, twentie saile of Gallies and Foyfts. And while *La Castellina* was assaulted, that Nauie battered the fortresse of *Vade*, which through the small diligence of the Captaine was taken. By meane whereof, the enemy afterwards molested the country thereabouts. Which molestation was easilie remoued of certaine souldiers, aduenturers, sent by the *Florentines*: who constrained the enemy not to retire far from the sea side. The Pope during these warres, intermedled not, but where he hoped to make peace betweene the parties. For he refrained the warres abroad, fearing greater troubles at home. In those dayes liued *Steffano Porcari*, a Citizen of *Rome*, both for birth and learning (but much more for courage and magnanimitie of minde) to be honoured. This *Steffano* (according to the custome of men, desirous of glorie) thought to do, or at the least to attempt some thing worthie memorie. Then imagining he could not take in hand any thing more worthie, then to deliuer his country from the subiection of the priests, & reduce it to the ancient libertie, resolved to enterprize that action, hoping therby (if it were brought to passe) to be called a new founder and father of *Rome*. Those things which gaue him hope of happie successe, were the wicked conuersation of the Prelates, with the discontentment of the Barrons and people. But aboue all other, he was most encouraged with certaine verses written by the Poet *Francesco Petrarca*, in his song, which beginneth thus.

Spirto gentil, che quelle membra reggi: &c.

*Sopra il monte Tarpeo, Canzon Vedrai
Vn Cauallier, che Italia tutta honora
Penso so Piu d'altrui, che di se stesso: &c.*

This *Steffano* was perswaded, that Poettes many times were inspired with the diuine spirite of prophesie: Whereof hee conceiued, that fortune would assu-

Some do suppose this Canto to be written, not vnto S. Porcari, but to Nicholo di Renzo, a gentleman Roman, by Petrarche, who therein seemeth to diuine, that in Rome shuld arise a Knight famous throughout all Italy.

redly happen vnto him, which *Petrarcha* had in his verses prophesied, and that himselfe was the man, that should be the executor of so glorious an enterprife: imagining that for eloquence, for learning, for fauour, and friends, there was no *Romane* to him comparable. This conceipt possessing him, he resolued to execute the same; yet could he not so secretly practise, but by words, by conuersation, and his manner of life, somewhat was discouered, and by that mean became suspected to the Pope: who (to remooue him from the commoditie of doing harme) confined him to *Bologna*, and commaunded the Governour of that Citie euerie day to see him. Notwithstanding, *Steffano* for this first disgrace, dismayed not; but with the more endeouour followed his enterprife: and by all secret & subtile meanes practised with his friends, going to *Rome*, and returning with such speed, as he might at times necessarie present himselfe to the Governour. And so soone as hee had drawne a sufficient number of men to be of his minde, determined without further delaie to attempt the enterprife: giuing order to his friends in *Rome*, that at a time prefixed, they should prepare a solemne supper, where all the conspirators should meete, and euerie man bring with him his assured friends, and hee himselfe before the supper were ended, would be there also. All things were done according to appointment, and *Steffano* arriued at the feast. After supper, apparrelled himselfe in cloath of gold, and other ornaments, which gaue him Maiestic and reputation. In that sort, he came forth to the conspirators, embracing them, & perswading them with long speech to be resolute, and readie to performe so glorious an attempt. Then he deuised the order therof, appointing part of them, the next morning to surprize the Popes Pallace, & the rest to call the people to armes. The same night (as some say) through infidelitie of the conspirators, the matter was reuealed to the Pope. Others affirme, that it came to knowledge by those that sawe *Steffano* come into *Rome*. But howsoeuer it were, the same night after supper, the Pope caused *Steffano*, with the most part of his companions to be apprehended, and according to their merits put to death. Such was the end of this his enterprife. It may be, that some wil commend his intention, yet wil his iudgment of all men be reprobued. Because this and such like enterprises, although they carry with them a shadow of glorie, yet in executiō they bring (almost euer) assured misadventure. The war had now continued in *Toscana* almost one whole yeare, and the armies were returned to the field, in the yeare 1454. At which time, *Alisandro Sforza* was come to the *Florentines*, with supply of two thousand horse. Wherby the *Florentine* army was wel encreased, and the Kings Camp diminished. The *Florentines* thought good to recouer some things by them lost, & so with small labor gained the possession of certaine Townes. Afterwardes they incamped before *Foiano*, which through negligence of the Commissaries, was sacked: and the inhabitants being dispersed, wold not willingly return thither, til such time as by priuiledges & rewards they were allured: The fortresse of *Vada*, was also recouered: For the enemies seeing they could not defend it, did presently abandon & burn it. During the time that these things were done by the *Florentine* army, the Kings souldiers fearing to come neare their enemies, retired themselues towards *Siena*, many times spoiling the *Florentines* country, committing robberies, tumults, and exceeding great displeasures. Neuerthelesse that King omitted not to deuise some other way to assault the enemies, to cut off their forces, or by new troubles & assaults to keep them occupied. *Gherardo Gamberacorti* was Lord in the vale of *Bagno*. He and his auncestors either by friendship or by obligation, had alwaies in times past, either as hired, or as recommended, serued the *Florentines*. With him the King *Alfonso* practised to haue that countrey, and offred in recompence therof, an other in the kingdome. This practise was discouered at *Florence*, yet to sound the dispositiō of *Gherardo*, they sent an Embassador to remēber him

Steffano put
to death.

of the obligation of his ancestors, and his owne also, and therewith to persuaide him to continue his fidelitie towards that Commonweale. *Gherardo* seemed to meruaile much at this message, & with great othes protested, that neuer any disloiall thought had entred his minde; and that he would come vnto *Florence*, and make his owne person a pledge of his fidelitie: neuerthelesse, being at that present sick, he could not goe thither, but with the Embassador would needs send his sonne to remaine in *Florence* as an hostage. These words, & this demōstration brought the *Florentines* to beleue, that *Gherardo* had said troth, and his accuser being accounted a lier, was not regarded, nor the accusation any more thought vpon. Notwithstanding, *Gherardo* being still sollicitated by the King, at length consented to the practise. And hauing concluded the same, the King sent to the Vale of *Bagno* a Knight of *Ierusalem* called *Puccio*, and with him diuerse bands of souldiers, to take possession of the Castles and Townes belonging to *Gherardo*. But those people of *Bagno* being affectionate to the *Florentines*, verie vnwillinglie promised their obedience to the Kings Commis- saries. *Puccio* hauing taken possession of all that state, wanted onely to possess him- selfe of the fortresse of *Corzano*. When *Gherardo* deliuered this possession, there was present among many others, one called *Antonio Gualandi* of *Pisa*, a yong man verie valiant, and such a one, as was with the treason of *Gherardo* greatly discontented. He considering the scite of the fortress, and finding by the countenance of those souldiers who guarded it, that they were likewise displeased. While *Gherardo* stood at the gate to let in the Kings souldiers, *Antonio* came betwixt him and the Castle, and with both his hands forcibly thrust him out: commaunding the Guard to shut the gates against so wicked a Traytor, and keepe the same to the vse of the *Florentines*. This rumor being heard in the Vale of *Bagno*, and other places neare vnto it, all the people tooke armes against the King, and followed the *Florentines* ensigne. This matter aduertised to *Florence*, the *Florentines* caused the sonne of *Gherardo* (remaining with them in hostage) to be put in prison: and sent souldiers to *Bagno* to defend the countrey for them, changing that gouernment from a principallitie into a *Vicariato*. But *Gherardo*, hauing thus betraied both his Lords and his owne sonne, with great difficultie fled, leauing his wife, his daughter, and his substance, at the discretion of the enemy. This accident stood the *Florentines* greatly in stead: For if the King had possessed that Countrey, he might with small charge, and easily haue gotten the Vale of *Teueri*, and spoiled *Casentino*, whereby he should haue so much troubled the state, that the *Florentines* could not haue bene able to encounter the forces of *Arragon* which remained at *Siena*. The *Florentines* besides their owne preparation in *Italy*, the rather to oppresse their enemies, had sent *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* Embassador to the French King, to perswade him to licence *Rinato de Angio*, to come in the aide of the Duke and them. By which meanes he should defend his friends, and afterwards being in *Italy*, attend the surprizing of the Kingdome: whereunto they offered him aide both of men and money. During the warres in *Lombardy* and in *Toscana* (as is before said) the Embassador concluded with King *Rinato of Angio*, that before the end of Iune, he should come into *Italy* with two thousand and foure hundred horse: and that at his arriual in *Alessandria*, the League should giue him thirtie thousand Florins readie paiement: and euery moneth after, during the warres, tenne thousand. The King then by vertue of this league, comming into *Italy*, was by the Duke of *Sauoia*, and the Marquesse of *Monferato* impeached: for they being friends to the *Venetians*, would not permit him to passe. Whereupon the King was perswaded by the Embassador of *Florence*, to returne to *Prouenza* with certaine of his army, and from thence to passe into *Italy* by sea. And on the other side, to perswade with the French King to procure so much fauour of that Duke, that the rest of his souldiers

The Vale of
Bagno reuol-
ted from the
Florentines.

Rinato de
Angio called
into Italy by
the Floren-
tines.

diers might come through *Sauoia*. According to this counsell the matter was handled, and the King *Rinato* went by Sea into *Italy*, conueying the rest of his Army through *Sauoia* by the French Kings mediation. The King *Rinato* was by the Duke *Francesco* most honorably receiued, and hauing ioyned the *Italian* forces with the Kings, they assaulted the *Venetians* with so great furie, that within short space they recouered all those Townes in *Cremonesi* which they had before lost: and not so content, they surprized almost all the countrey of *Brescia*. The *Venetian* army fearing to tarry in the field, retired to the walles of *Brescia*. But the winter being come, the Duke thought good to withdraw his souldiers to their lodgings, appointing for the Kings abroad, the Cittie of *Piacenza*, where he remained all that winter, in the yeare 1453. without any other action performed. So soone as the time of yeare serued, and that the Duke was going to the field, in hope to dispossesse the *Venetians*, of the rest of their Countries vpon the firme land, the King *Rinato* signified vnto him, that of necessitie he was to returne into *Fraunce*. This intention of the Kings, seemed to the Duke not onely strange, but also vnlooked for, and therefore greatly offended him: and albeit he went in person presently to dissuade him, yet neither his intreatie nor promises could take effect; but onely promised to leaue behinde him part of his forces, and to send his sonne *Gionanni* to supplie his place in seruice of the League. This resolution grieved not the *Florentines*, for they hauing recouered their Castles, feared not the King any longer. And on the other side, they desired that the Duke should not recouer more, then the townes in *Lombrdy* to him belonging. The King *Rinato* being gone, sent according to promise his sonne into *Italy*, who staid not in *Lombardy*, but went presently vnto *Florence*, where he was very honorably receiued. The matter thus handled by the King, did occasion the Duke to be content with peace, and the *Venetians*, *Alfonso*, and the *Florentines*, being likewise wearied, desired the same. The Pope also by all meanes laboured to bring it to passe, bicause the same yeare *Mahumetto* the great Turk had taken *Constantinople*, and made himselfe Lord of all *Greece*: which victorie terrified greatly all Christians, but chiefly the *Venetians* and the Pope, who thought *Italy* was thereby in great danger. The Pope therefore desired the Potentates of *Italy* to send Embassadors vnto him, with authoritie to establish an yniuersall peace; which commision was performed: and notwithstanding that altogether they ioyned, and seemed all to allow of the motion, they found neuertheless therein great difficultie. The King required that the *Florentines* should pay his charges in the warre past, and the *Florentines* would be paid themselues. The *Venetians* demaunded *Cremona* of the Duke, and the Duke asked of them *Bergamo*, *Brescia*, and *Crema*; so that these difficulties seemed impossible to be remoued: notwithstanding, that which at *Rome* seemed hard to be concluded, at *Milan* and *Venice* prooued easie. For when at *Rome* the peace vniuersall was practised, the Duke and the *Venetians* betwixt themselues made an agreement on the ninth of Aprill, in the yeare 1451. By vertue whereof, euery of them should repossesse those townes which were theirs before the warre. And it was graunted to the Duke, that he might recouer his townes taken from him by the Lords of *Monferato* and *Sauoia*. And to the other Princes of *Italy*, one moneth was allowed to ratifie the same. The Pope, the *Florentines*, the *Sanesi*, and the lesser Potentates, within the time appointed, made their ratification. Moreouer, betwixt the *Florentines*, the Duke, and the *Venetians*, a peace was concluded for fiftene yeares. Onely the King *Alfonso* among all the *Italian* Princes seemed therewith discontented, bicause he thought it was contrary to his reputation to be named in the contract of peace, not as a principall, but as an adherent. For which consideration, he pawfed long, before he would lay downe his resolution. But being sollicitated by sundrie
soleimne

Peace betweene the
Venetians
and the Duke.

solemne Embassages of other Princes, he was at length content (and chiefly by the Pope) to be perswaded, and with his sonne entred this league for thirtie yeares: confirming the same with alliances and crosse marriages betwixt the Duke and the King; their sonnes marrying one the others daughter. Notwithstanding, to the end that some seeds of the warre might remaine in *Italy*, he consented not to make the peace, before such time as those of the League would giue him leaue without their iniurie, to make warres vpon the *Genouesi*, *Gismondo*, *Malatesti*, and *Astor* Prince of *Faenza*. This conclusion made, *Ferrando* his sonne then being at *Siena*, returned to the Kingdome, hauing sithence his arriual in *Toscana* not gained any dominion, but lost great numbers of souldiers. This vniuersall peace being concluded, it was onely feared, least King *Alfonso* for the displeasure he bare to the *Genouesi*, would disturbe the common quiet: but the matter came otherwise to passe, for the King did not openly moue any disturbance, but (as it hath alwaies happened by the ambition of mercinarie souldiers) the peace was by them interrupted. The *Venetians* had (as their manner is) the warres being ended, discharged their Generall *Giacopo Piccinino*, who taking vnto him certaine other Captaines (likewise discharged) went into *Romagna*, and from thence to the countrey of *Siena*: where *Giacopo* staying, begun the warre, and surprized certaine Townes belonging to the *Sanesi*. At the beginning of these troubles in the yeare 1455. died Pope *Nicholo*, and to him succeeded *Calisto tertio*. This Pope, to repress the new warre, assembled all the forces he was able, making *Giouanni Ventimiglia* his Generall; who with certaine *Florentines*, and other souldiers sent from the Duke for that purpose, went against *Giacopo*, and fought with him neare vnto *Bolcena*: where notwithstanding that *Ventimiglia* was taken prisoner, yet *Giacopo* had the worst, and was forced to retire to *Castiglione della Piscaia*, and had he not bene by *Alfonso* relieued with money, he should then vtterly haue bene ouerthrowne; which reliefe, discovered that *Giacopo* had taken that enterprize in hand, with the priuite and direction of that King. *Alfonso* finding himselfe discovered, to be reconciled to the other Princes consenting to the peace, (whose fauour by meanes of this weake warre he had almost lost) procured that *Giacopo* should restore to the *Sanesi* all the townes he had taken from them, and they to giue him twentiethousand Florins. And this agreement made, the King receiued *Giacopo* with his souldiers into the Kingdome. In those dayes, notwithstanding that the Pope intended to bridle *Giacopo Piccinino*, yet was he mindfull also of the defence of Christendome, likely to be oppressed by the Turks. For which purpose, he sent into all Christian Countries Embassadors and Preachers, to perswade with Princes and people, to arme themselves for the aide of Religion, and to giue money and personall seruice to this enterprize, against the common enemy. He caused also solemne procesions to be made, declaring both publicquely and priuately, that he himselfe would be among the first of the Christians that should assit that action, with counsell, money, and men. But the heate of this *Crociata* was cooled, with aduertisements that the Turke and his army being at *Belgrado* (a Castle of *Hungary* vpon the riuer of *Danubio*) was by the *Hungarians* hurt in his person, and his Camp broken, so that the Popes and Christians feare, conceiued by the losse of *Constantinople*, was thereby ceased, and the preparation they made for the warre proceeded coldly. In *Hungary* likewise by the death of *Giouanni Vaiuoda*, Captaine of that victorie, the warre was discontinued. But returning to the matters of *Italy*, I say, that in the yeare 1456. the tumults moued by *Giacopo Piccinino* were ended: so that euery man hauing laid aside armes, it seemed as though God had taken them in hand. For there happened in *Toscana* most tempestuous windes, such as neuer before had bene heard of, nor shall be, which wrought most meruailous and memorable

Troubles moued by *Giacopo Piccinino*, and supported by King *Alfonso*.

Pope *Calisto* perswadeth a generall war against the Turks.

A meruailous tempest in *Toscana*.

morable effects. Vpon the 24. of August, one houre before day, there arose from the Sea towards *Ancona* a great and darke clowd, crossing *Italy*, and entering the Sea towards *Pisa*, stretching two miles in compasse. This storme was furiously carried, (and whether by natural or supernaturall force) diuided into many parts, as it were fighting amongst themselues. And of those broken clowds, some were hoised vp towards heauen, some violently cast downe, and some with wonderfull speed were turned round; but alwaies before them came a winde, with lightnings and flashing of fire, so terrible, as cannot be expressed. Of these broken and confused clowds, and of those furious winds, and great flames, there grew so strange a noise, as moued the people to greater feare, then any Earthquake or thunder euer had done: in so much as euery man thought the world was ended, and that the earth, the water, and the heauen, should haue returned to the old *Chaos*. This fearefull storme, wheresoeuer it passed, wrought meruailous and wonderfull effects. But the most notable of all, happened about the Castle of *S. Cassiano*. This Castle is builded vpon the hill which parteth the Vales of *Pisa* and *Griue*, eight miles distant from *Florence*. Betwixt that said Castle, and the towne of *S. Andrea*, builded vpon the same hill, this furious tempest passed, not comming to *S. Andrea*, but at *S. Cassiano* threw downe certaine turrets and chimneys: and neare thereunto subuerted whole houses euen to the ground, and carried away whole roofes of the Churches of *S. Martino a Bagnolo*, and *S. Maria della pace*; bearing them from thence vnbroken, the space of more then one mile. One man also a Carrier, was taken vp, and in the valley next vnto the way, both he and his Moyles found dead. Moreover, all the greatest okes and strongest trees which would not bend at the furie of the tempest, were not onely broken, but also with violence borne farre from the place where they grew. Whereat, the next day, when the tempest was ceased, and men returned to those places, they were greatly astonied, for they found the Countrey desolate and spoiled, the houses and the temples ouerthrowne, the people lamenting and beholding their houses cast downe, and vnder them their goods, their cattle, and their parents slaine: Which thing, both in the beholders and hearers thereof, moued a maruellous compassion. By this meane, it pleased God rather to threaten, then punish *Toscana*. For if so great a tempest had fallen vpon any Citie full of houses and inhabitants, as it fell vpon these oakes, trees, and small houses, one farre from the other, without all doubt, the destruction would haue bene greater, then the mind of man could haue conceiued. But it pleased God, by that small example to reuiue in mens mindes, the memory of his power. But now to returne to our matter. The King *Alfonso* (as is before said) discontented with the peace, and seeing that the warre which he caused *Giacopo Piccinino* to make vpon the *Sanesi* without any reasonable occasion, had wrought no effect, he thought to moue an other with the allowance of the league. And in the yeare 1456. he assaulted the *Genouesi* both by sea and land, as desirous to giue that state to the *Adorni*, and depriue the *Frigosi* who then gouerned. Besides that, he caused *Giacopo Piccinino* to passe *Tronto*, and assault *Gismondo Malatesti*, who hauing well manned his townes, regarded not much the assault of *Giacopo*, so as the enterprise of the King on this side tooke no effect at all. But that warre of *Genoua* occasioned more warre to him and his Kingdome, then himselfe looked for. At that time *Pietro Fregoso* was Duke of *Genoua*; he fearing himselfe to be of force vnable to withstand the Kings assault, determined to giue that to an other which himselfe could not hold: and yeeld it into the hands of such a one that would (at the least in that respect) defend him; so might he also hope in time to come, to be reacquited. Then sent he Embassadors to *Carlo* the seauenth, King of *France*, and offered him the dominion of *Genoua*. *Carlo* accepted this offer, and to take possession of

The Geno-
ues assaulted
by King Al-
fonso.

of that Cittie, sent thither *Giouanni de Angio* sonne to King *Rinato*, who not long before was departed from *Florence*, and returned into *Fraunce*. For *Carlo* was periwaded, that *Giouanni* hauing bene before employed in *Italy*, knew how to gouerne that Cittie better then any other: hoping also, that being there, he might deuise vpon the enterprise of *Naples*, of which Kingdome, *Alfonso* had dispossessed his father *Rinato*. Then went *Giouanni* to *Genoua*, and being there, was receiued as Prince. All the fortresses belonging to the Cittie, with the whole gouernment, were deliuered to his hand. This accident displeased *Alfonso*, thinking he had drawne in an enemy ouer mightie: yet not dismayed therewith, couragiously followed his enterprise, and sayled on with his Nauie, till he came vnder *Villa Marina*, at *Ponto Fino*, where taken with a sodeine disease, he died. By death of this King, *Giouanni* and the *Genouesi* were deliuered of the warre, and *Ferrando* (who succeeded his father *Alfonso* in the Kingdome) grew suspitious, least an enemy of so great reputation in *Italy*, might happily win the fauour of many his Barons, whose fidelitie he doubted, and whose mindes he knew desirous of Innouation: for which respects, they might percase be perswaded to ioyne with the French. He also instructed the Pope, whose ambitious mind (as he thought) aspired to take from him this new Kingdome. His onely trust was in the Duke of *Milan*, he being indeed no lesse carefull of the Kingdome, then was *Ferrando*: for he mistrusted, that if the French did preuaile, they would also labour to surprize his state, which they had some colour to claime, as to them appertaining. That Duke therefore, presently vpon the death of *Alfonso*, determined to giue that Kingdome vnto *Pietro Lodouico Borgia* his nephew. Also (to make that enterprise seeme more honest and acceptable to the rest of the *Italian* Princes) he published, that his intent was, to reduce that Kingdom vnder the Church of *Rome*: perswading the Duke in that respect, not to fauour *Ferrando*, offering him those townes which of auncient time he possessed in the Kingdome. But in the midst of these imaginations and new troubles, Pope *Calisto* died, and in his place was created *Pio secundo*, borne in *Siena*, and of the family of *Piccolhuomini*. This Pope minding onely to benefite the Christians, and honor the Church, setting aside all priuate passion, at the Duke of *Milans* request, crowned the King *Ferrando*: thinking he should better appease the warres by mainteining of him in possession, then by fauouring the French, to giue them the Kingdome; or if he should (as *Calisto* did) challenge it for himselfe. For this benefite, *Ferrando* gaue vnto *Antonio* the Popes nephew, the principallitie of *Malsi*: and married him vnto his owne base daughter. He restored also *Beneuento* and *Terracina* to the Church. Then all men supposing that the armes of *Italy* were laid downe, the Pope tooke order to mooue the Christians to make warre vpon the Turks, as it was before deuised by Pope *Calisto*. At which time, there rose great dissention betwixt the *Fregosi* and *Giouanni de Angio* Lord of *Genoua*: which dissention, reuiued a warre of more importance, then was the other already passed. At that time, *Pietrino Fregoso* happened to be at a Castle of his in *Riuiera*. He not holding himselfe according to his merits rewarded, by *Giouanni de Angio*, (who by help of him and others of his house was made Prince) became open enemy to *Giouanni*. This discord pleased *Ferrando*, as that, which might onely be the meanes of his good speed: Then sent he men and money to *Pietrino*, hoping by his aide to driue *Giouanni* from that state. Which he knowing, sent into *Fraunce* to encounter *Pietrino*. There finding much fauour, he receiued a great supply, and went against *Pietrino*, who was become strong also: so as *Giouanni* retired into the Cittie, where also in the night *Pietrino* entred, and possessed some places thereof: but the next morning was by the souldiers of *Giouanni* assaulted and slaine, and all his men likewise either slaine or taken. This victorie encouraged

Genoua in
the possession
of the French
King.

The death of
King Alfonso.

The death of
Pope Calisto

The Geno-
uesi revolted
frō the french.

Giouanni

The king-
dome of
Naples af-
faulted by
Giouanni
de Angio.

King Ferran-
do defeated.

Giouanni to set vpon the Kingdome: and in October 1459: with a mightie nauie he departed from *Genoua*. And landing at *Baia*, marched from thence to *Sessa*, where he was by the Duke of that countrey receiued. Then came vnto *Giouanni* the Prince of *Tarranto*, the Cittizens of *Aquila*, with many other townes and Princes, in so much as that Kingdome was almost ruined. *Ferrando* seeing that, desired aide of the Pope and the Duke. Also to haue the fewer foes, made peace with *Gismondo Malatesti*; wherewith *Giacopo Piccinino* (being naturall enemy to *Gismondo*) became so much displeased, as he discharged himselfe from the seruice of *Ferrando*, and ioyned with *Giouanni*. *Ferrando* also sent money to enterteine *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*, and within short space he assembled (according vnto that time) a great army. Then marched he to the riuer of *Sarni*, where he found the enemy, and fought with him: in which conflict, the forces of King *Ferrando* were ouerthrowne, and many of his principall Captaines taken. But notwithstanding this ouerthrow, the Cittie of *Naples*, with a fewe other townes, and some Princes, continued faithfull to *Ferrando*, though all the rest of the Realme, and Nobilitie, yeelded their obedience to *Giouanni*. *Giacopo Piccinino* perswaded *Giouanni* to follow the victorie, and presently to marche to *Naples*, thereby to possesse himselfe of the chiefe Cittie of the Kingdome; which *Giouanni* refused to do, saying he would first spoile all the countrey, and then it would be more easie to surprize the Cittie, which was the cause, he failed to performe that enterprife: for he knew not, that the parts do more willingly follow the head; then the head doth follow them. After this ouerthrow, the King *Ferrando* being fled into *Naples*; thither resorted vnto him diuerse of his subiects, who were driuen from their countreys: then by all curteous meanes he leuied men and money to make a new Camp, sending againe for aide to the Pope and Duke. From the one and the other of whome he was aided more speedily and abundantly then before time he had bene, bicause they greatly feared, he should otherwise lose his Kingdome. King *Ferrando* in this sort growne strong, marched out of *Naples*, and hauing gotten some reputation, recouered also part of his lost townes. During these warres in the Kingdome, a chance happened, that vtterly depriued *Giouanni de Angio* of reputation and meane to haue victorie in that enterprife. The *Genouesi* being wearie of the French insolent and couetous gouernment, tooke armes against the Kings Gouvernour there, and forced him to flee to the little Castle of *Genoua*. The *Fregosi* and the *Adorni* were content to ioyne in that action, and by the Duke of *Milan* they became furnished of money and men, both for the winning, and keeping the Cittie. So that the King *Rinato* with his nauie came to the succour of his sonne, and hoping to recouer *Genoua*, by meane of the small Castle, in landing his souldiers, was ouerthrowne; and forced with shame to returne vnto *Prouenza*. These newes being carried to the Kingdome of *Naples*, greatly dismaied *Giouanni de Angio*: notwithstanding, he still followed his enterprife, and continued the warre, being serued by those Barons who were rebelled, and could not looke for fauour of *Ferrando*. In the end, after many accidents, those two royall armies ioyned battell, wherein, neare vnto the Cittie of *Troia*, *Giouanni* was vanquished, the yeare 1463. This ouerthrow did not so much hinder the successe of the King *Giouanni*, as did the reuolt of *Giacopo Piccinino*, who left him, and ioyned with King *Ferrando*: whereby being spoiled of his forces, he retired into *Histria*, and from thence to *France*. This warre continued foure yeares, and was in the end lost by his owne negligence, for it was many times in good way of victorie by the vertue of his souldiers. Therein the *Florentines* intermedled not apparantly, yet were they desired by Embassadors of the King *Giouanni* of *Arragon* (newly come to that Kingdome by the death of *Alfonso*) to assist the enterprife of *Ferrando* his nephew, as they had bound

Giouanni
de Angio
vanquished
in battell.

bound themselves by the league lately made with *Alfonso* his father. To whom by the *Florentines* it was answered, that they were not by any obligation bound to aide the sonne in that warre, which was begun by the father: for as the same had bene without their counsell or knowledge taken in hand, so without their assistance it should be performed and ended. The Embassadors being thus to the request of their King answered, protested the execution of their band, and the Kings prejudice, so in great displeasure with that Cittie, departed. The *Florentines* during these warres, continued in peace abroad, but within they rested not, as in the next Booke shall be particulerly declared.

The ende of the sixt Booke.



THE SEVENTH BOOKE.

O those that haue read the former Booke, it may seeme in writing of *Florence*, and the proceedings of the *Florentines*, we haue ouermuch spoken of such accidents as hapned in *Lombardy* and the Kingdome. Neuertheless, as heretofore I haue, so am I hereafter to continue with the like discourses. For albeit I did not promise to write of matters concerning *Italy*, yet haue I thought good to speake of those, that were in that countrey most notable. For if I should not make mention of them, our historie would be with more difficultie vnderstood, and to the Readers lesse pleasing. Chiefely, because the actions of other people and Princes of *Italy*, did occasion the warres, wherein the *Florentines* were forced to intermeddle, as of the warre of *Giouanni de Angio*, and King *Ferrando* great enimitie grew, which was after betwixt *Ferrando* and the *Florentines*, and particulerly with the house of *Medici* continued. For the King complained, that the *Florentines* did not onely leaue him in that warre vnaided, but also that his enemies were by them fauoured: which anger, was the occasion of exceeding many inconuenients, as shall be hereafter declared. And for as much as I haue written at large those matters which happened without the Cittie, till the yeare 1463. it behoueth me for the declaration of such troubles as happened in those daies within, to looke back many yeares passed. Yet first by way of discourse (as is my custome) I say, that whosoever doth thinke, that any Common-weale can continue vnited, he greatlie deceiueth himselfe. But true it is, that some diuisions be prejudiciall to Common-weales, and some others be profitable. Those be prejudiciall, which are with factions and followers accompanied. And those are profitable, which without factions and followers bee maintained. Seeing then, it is a thing impossible, for that man who frameth a Common-weale, to provide that no enimitie shall therein arise, he ought (at the least) foresee, that no factions

factions be permitted. It is then to be considered, that the Citizens in euerie state do win reputation, either by publike or priuate meanes. Publike reputation is gotten by victorie in the field, by surprizing of townes, by wise and discreet performing of Embassages, or by counsailling the State grauely and fortunately. By priuate meanes men attain to reputatiō, by pleasuring particuler citizēs, by sauing them frō punishments, by relieuing them with money, by aduancing thē vnworthily to honors and offices, and by entreteining the common people with sports & publike gifts. From these causes, faction, following, and partaking do proceed. And as reputation thus gotten is hurtful, so the other not being intermedled with faction, is the occasion of great good, bicause it is grounded vpon no priuate, but common commoditie. And albeit among such Citizens, so great displeasures wil grow, as the wisdom of man is not able to preuēt, yet wāting partakers to follow thē for proper profit, they cannot by any way hinder the common-weale, but shal rather help it: for in aspiring to that they would come vnto, it behoueth them to indeuor the aduancement of the state, and particularly one to respect the other, so much, as the lawes & ciuil orders be not infringed. The enimities of *Florēce* were alwaies followed with factions, and therefore hurtfull to the state, neither was any victorious faction longer vnited, then the contrary part continued in force: for so soone as the enemies were extinguished, the faction remaining no more in awe of the enemy, nor hauing order to bridle it selfe, became diuided. The faction of *Cosimo de Medici* in the yeare 1434. remained with victorie. Neuerthelesse, bicause the partie oppressed was stil great, and full of mightie men, it continued vnited and tollerable, so long, as among those of the factiō, no error was cōmitted, and the people for no euill desert did hate thē: and whensoever that gouernment had need of the people to reestablish their authoritie, they found them readie to giue vnto the chiefe of the faction the *Balia*, and whatsoever else they desired. Thus frō the 1434. till the 55. being 21. yeares, they were cōfirmed in office 6. times, ordinarily elected by the Councels. There were in *Florence* (as we haue diuerse times said) two most mightie Citizens, *Cosimo de Medici*, and *Neri Capponi*, of whome, *Neri* had gained his reputation by publike meanes: by reason whereof, he had many friends, but few followers. *Cosimo* on the other side being aspired both by publike and priuate waies, had not onely many friends, but also many followers. These two men continuing vnited, during their liues, easily obtined of the people whatsoever they desired, bicause they had loue mixed with authoritie. But the yere 1455. being come, *Neri* dead, & the aduerse part extinguished, *Cosimo* found no small difficultie to be cōfirmed, and his own friends being most mightie in the state, were cause therof: bicause they feared no more the cōtrary faction put downe, & desired to decrease the power of *Cosimo*; which was the beginning of those diuisions which followed after in the yeare 1466. So as they vnto whome the offices appertained, in their councels, where the publike gouernment of that state was debated, did alleage it was not conueniēt that the authoritie of *Balia* should be resumed, but that the order of election ought proceed, as it was wont, by lots, and not according to the former *Squittini*. *Cosimo*, to quallifie this humor, had to determine vpon one of these two remedies, either by force with the aide of his friends and followers to possesse himselfe of the State, and therewith to compell the contrarie faction, or else to suffer the matter proceed, and in time let his friends know, that not his honor, but their reputation was by the enemy taken away. Of these two remedies, he made choise of the last: for hee knew well, that the *Squittini* being fullest of his friends, himselfe could not incurre any perill, and might also at his pleasure resume the State. The Cittie then determined to create the Magistrates by lot: the greatest number thought the libertie recouered, and that the offices should not after be allotted,

according

Cosimo
de Medici.
Neri Cap-
poni.

according to the will of the most mightie men, but as seemed best to themselves. Whereupon, the followers of the great Cittizens began to be disesteemed, and by the people were in fundrie places beaten downe and oppressed. So as they who were wont to haue their houses full of suiters and prebents, were now become emptie, and without any resort at all. They also sawe themselves made equall with those who were before time farre vnder them, and their equals were become their superiors. They were not regarded nor honored, but rather many times mocked and derided. Also in the streets, the people without respect, spake their pleasures both of them, and of the Common-weale. Whereof was conceiued, that they, and not *Cosimo*, had lost the gouernment. All which things *Cosimo* dissimuled, and whensoever any thing plausible to the people was propounded, he was euer the first that allowed thereof. But that which most terrified the great men, and made *Cosimo* to looke about him, was the reuiving of the *Catasto* the yeare 1427. Whereby was ordeined, the Imposition should proceed by the order of lawe, and not the pleasure of men. This lawe made; and Magistrates for execution thereof chosen, occasioned the great Cittizens to assemble, goe vnto *Cosimo*, and desire him be pleased to concurre with them in their, and his owne deliuey from the people: whereby he should recouer reputation to the State, make himselfe mightie, and them honored. Thereunto *Cosimo* answered, he was content, so that the lawe were made orderly with consent of the people, and without force; otherwise no speech to be thereof. Then went they about in the Councils to make a new *Balia*, whereby they might create new Officers, but that intention preuailed not: then the great Cittizens returned to *Cosimo*, desiring him most humbly to consent to the Parliament, which *Cosimo* vterly refused to do: meaning thereby to bring to passe, that they should finde the error they committed. And bicause *Donato Cochi*, being *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*, would in any wise without his consent call the Parliament, *Cosimo* procured him by the rest of the *Senators*, (who sate with him in office) to be so mocked and disdeined, as thereby he became mad, and was as a man sencelesse, sent home to his house: Notwithstanding, bicause he thought it not fit to suffer matters to runne further out of order, then that they might be at his pleasure reformed: *Lucca Pitti* become *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia* (a stout and selfe-willed man) *Cosimo* thought good to leaue the gouernment to his discretion, to the end, that if any thing were misdone, the fault might be to *Lucca* and not to himselfe imputed. *Lucca* then in the beginning of his Magistracie; propounded many things to the people, touching reformation of the *Balia*, but not obtaining his desire; with iniurious words full of pride, he threatned those of the councils: Which threatnings, shortly after he performed in deed. For in August vpon the cue of *S. Lorenzo*, the yeare 1458. he assembled secretly within the Pallace many armed men, called the people thither, and forced them to consent to that, which voluntarily they had before denied. By this means being againe in possession of the State, the *Balia* was created, and the chiefe Magistrates according to the pleasure of a fewe, were appointed. Then to begin that gouernment with terror, which was gotten by force, they confined *Girolamo Machiavelli*, with some others, and depriued many from their offices, which *Girolamo* hauing afterwards passed the bounds of prescription, was proclaimed a Rebell. Then went he from place to place in *Italy*, to perswade the Princes against his countrey, till at length in *Lunigiana*, through the treason of one of that *Senate*, he was taken, brought to *Florence*, and there in prison died. This forme of gouernment continuing eight yeares, was violent and insupportable. For *Cosimo* being old, weake, vnhealthie, and vnable to be present as he was wont, at the affaires of the Common-weale, a fewe Cittizens at their pleasures did rob and spoyle the Cittie. *Lucca Pitti* for his

Lucca Pitti.

Girolamo Machiavelli.

Ordinances
by Lucca
Pitti.

good seruice was made Knight, and he to declare himselfe no lesse thankfull to the State, then the State had bene to him, caused that the Officers called *Priori delli Arti*, hauing passed their authoritie, should be called *Priori della Liberta*. He ordeined also, that whereas the *Gonfaloniere* was woont to sit on the right hand of the *Rettori*, that after he should be placed in the middest of them. Moreouer, to the end that God might seeme partaker of this action, they made publique procesions and prayers, thanking him for the restauration of their honors. *Lucca* was by the *Senate*, and by *Cosimo* richly presented. To him also euerie other Citizen resorted, and gaue somewhat, so that it was supposed that the summe of his presents amounted vnto twentie thousand duckets. In conclusion, he aspired to such greatnesse of reputation, as *Lucca*, and not *Cosimo*, seemed to gouerne the Cittie. Thereupon he conceiued so great confidence, that he began to build two houses, the one in *Florence*, the other in *Rucciano*, a mile distant from the Cittie, both stately and kingly buildings. But that in *Florence* was much larger then by any priuate Citizen had euer bene builded. For performance thereof, he spared not to vse all extraordinarie meanes. For not onely priuate Citizens and particuler men did present him, and help him with things necessarie for his building, but the whole comminaltie and people did put their hands to his works. Moreouer, all banished men, and euerie other person hauing committed murther, theft, or other offence, whereof he feared publique punishment (if he were abled to his seruice any way) might without all danger resort thither. The other Citizens, although they builded not like vnto him, yet were they no lesse violent, and inclined to oppresion: so as, albeit *Florence* had no warre abroad to hinder it, yet was it by the Citizens within oppressed. In those dayes (as is before sayd) happened the warre in the Kingdome: and some warres were also made against the house of *Malatesti*, by the Pope, being desirous to take from them *Rimino* and *Cesena*: so that in this enterprise, and his studie to moue the warre against the Turke, Pope *Pio* consumed his Papacie. But *Florence* continued still in diuisions and troubles. For then began the faction of *Cosimo* to be diuided within it selfe, the yeare 1455. which happened by the occasions before said. Yet were they (for that time) by his wisdome appeased. But the yeare 64. being come, *Cosimo* fell againe sick, and dyed. At his death, both friends and foes lamented: for they, who in respect of the State loued him not, seeing what extortion was vsed by the Citizens in his life, doubted (least *Cosimo* being dead whome all men reuerenced) they should be vtterly ruined, and of his sonne *Piero* they hoped not much. For albeit he were of disposition a good man, yet being sickly, and new in the gouernmēt, they thought he should be forced to respect others, who without any bridle, would become strong and incorrigible. Euerie man therefore feared to find great want of *Cosimo*. This *Cosimo* was the most esteemed, and most famous Citizen (being no man of warre) that euer had bene in the memorie of man, either in *Florence*, or any other Cittie, bicause he did not onely excell all others (of his time) in authoritie and riches, but also in liberalitie and wisdome. For amongst other qualities which aduanced him to be chiefe of his Countrey, he was more then other men, liberall and magnificent. Which liberalitie appeared much more after his death then before. For his sonne *Piero* found by his fathers Records, that there was not any Citizen of estimation, to whome *Cosimo* had not lent great summes of money: and many times also vnrequired he did lend to those Gentlemen, whome he knewe to haue need. His magnificence likewise appeared by diuerse his buildings. For within *Florence*, he builded the Abbaies and Temples of *S. Marco*, *S. Lorenzo*, and the Monasterie of *S. Verdiana*. And in the Mountaines of *Fiesole*, *S. Gerolano*, with the Abbey thereunto belonging. Also in *Mugello*, he did not onely repaire

The death
of Cosmo
di Medici.

repaire the Church for the Friars, but tooke it downe, and builded it anew. Besides those magnificent buildings in *S. Croce*, in *S. Agnoli*, and *S. Miniato*, he made Altars, and sumptuous Chappels. All which Temples and Chappels, besides the buildings of them, were by him paved, and throughlie furnished with all things necessarie. With these publique buildings, we may number his priuate houses, whereof one within the Cittie meete for so great a personage, and foure other without at *Carriaggi*, at *Fiesole*, at *Casaggiuolo*, and at *Trebio*, all Pallaces fitter for Princes then priuate persons. And bicaute his magnificent houses in *Italy* did not in his opinion make him famous ynough, he builded in *Ierusalem* an Hospitall to recieve poore and diseased Pilgrims. In which worke, he consumed great summes of money. And albeit these buildings, and euery other his actions were princely, and that in *Florence* he liued like a Prince, yet so gouerned by wisdom, as he neuer exceeded the bounds of ciuill modestie. For in his conuersation, in riding, in marrying his children and kinnsfolks, he was like vnto all other discreet and modest Citizens: bicause he well knew, that extraordinarie things which are of all men with admiration beholdded, do win more enuie, then those which without ostentatiō be honestlie couered. Whensoever therefore he married his sonnes, he neuer sought to match them with the daughters of Princes, but wedded his sonne *Giouanni*, to *Cornelia Alessandri*, and *Piero*, to *Lucretia Tornabuoni*. Also of his graund children begotten of *Piero*, he married *Biancato Guglielmo de Pazi*, and *Nanninato Barnardo Russellai*. These his proceedings caused, that in so great change of fortune, and in so variable a Cittie, among so inconstant Citizens, he continued a Magistrate 31. yeares. For being a wise man, he discovered all inconuenients a farre, and therefore might in time preuent them, or if they did grow, be so prepared, as they could not offend him. Whereby he did not onely suppress all domesticall and ciuill ambition, but also bridled the insolencie of many Princes with so great happinesse and wisdom, that whosoever ioyned in league with him and his countrey, became either equall or superior to his enemies. And whosoever opposed themselues against them, either they lost time, money, or state. Whereof the *Venetians* can beare witnesse, who being ioyned with him against the Duke *Philippo*, were alwayes victorious: and being disioyned, were first by *Philippo*, and after by *Francesco* victored and oppressed. Also when they ioyned with *Alfonso* against the state of *Florence*, *Cosimo* with his credit, made both *Naples* and *Venice* so scarce of money, as they were constrained to take what peace himselfe was pleased with. Whatsoever difficultie or contradiction was moued against *Cosimo*, either within or without the Cittie, the end thereof was to his glorie, and the disadvantage of his enemies. Therefore all ciuill discords increased his authoritie in *Florence*, and forraine warres augmented his power abroad. He annexed to the dominion of his Countrey *Borgo* at *S. Sepolcro*, *Monteuoglio*, *Casentino*, and the Vale of *Bagno*. Thus his vertue and fortune, oppressed all enemies, and aduanced his friends. He was borne in the yeare 1389. on the feast day of *S. Cosimo* and *Damiano*: The first part of his life was full of troubles, as appeareth by his exile, his imprisonment, and his dangers of death. Also at the Councell of *Constanza* (whither he went with the Pope *Giouanni*) after the Popes oppression, he was forced to disguise himselfe, and flee. But hauing passed the fortie yeare of his age, hee liued most happily: in so much, as not onely they which ioyned with him in publique actions, but all other men also that maneged his treasure in euerie place of *Europe*, did participate of his felicitie. Also many excelsiue rich houses in *Florence* had their beginning from him, as *Tornabuoni*, *Benchi*, *Portinari*, and *Sassetti*. Besides all these, euerie man depending vpon his counsell, and fortune, became wealthie. And albeit that his building of Temples, and giuing

The descrip-
tion of Cofi-
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of almes, was knowne throughout the world, yet would he to his friends many times lament, that he had not spent and bestowed so much to the honor of God, but that he found himselfe still in his booke a debtor. He was of meane stature, in complexion browne, and of presence venerable: vnlearned, yet eloquent, and full of naturall wisdom; friendlie to his friends, and pittifull to the poore. In conuersation he was frugall, in counsell aduised, in execution speedie, in speech and answering, wittie, and graue. *Rinaldo degli Albizi* in the beginning of his exile sent him a message, saying that the hen did sit: whereunto *Cosimo* answered, that she could neither hatch, being farre from her nest. To other Rebels who sent him word they slept not: he answered, that he beleued the same, because there, sleepe was taken from them. Vnto the Pope *Pio*, perswading Princes to take Armes against the Turke, *Cosimo* said, An old man taketh in hand a yong enterprise. To the Embassadors of *Venice*, who came with the messengers of *Alfonso*, to complaine of the *Florentines*, he shewed his head bare, and asked of what colour it was? they answered white. Then he replying, said, that ere it be long, your *Senators* will also haue white heads like vnto mine. His wife, a few houres before his death, seeing him shut his eyes, asked him for what cause he so did? He answered, to bring them in vse. Some Citizens saying vnto him after his returne from exile, that he hindered the Cittie, and offended God, in banishing so many honest men? To them hee answered; It was better to haue a Cittie hindered, then lost; and that the State was not defended with beades in mens hands. Which words, gaue his enemyes matter to speake euill of him, as a man that loued himselfe more then his Countrey, and that esteemed more this world, then the world to come. Many other sayings, as things not necessarie, I, omit. *Cosimo* was also a louier and preferrer of learned men, for he brought vnto *Florence Argiropolo*, a Grecian borne, and in that time of singuler learning, to the end that the youth of *Florence* might be by him instructed in the Greeke toong, and other his good learnings. He enterteyned in his house *Marstilio Ficino*, a second father of the Philosophie of *Plato*, and him he entirely loued. Also, to the end he might with commoditie exercise the studie of learning, and more aptly vse his help therein, he gaue him certaine land neare vnto his house of *Careggi*. This his wisdom, these his riches, this manner of life, and this fortune, were the causes, that in *Florence* he was both feared and loued, and of the Princes not onely of *Italy*, but also of all *Europe* esteemed: so as he left vnto his posteritie such a foundation, as they might with vertue equall him, and in fortune farre excell him. Whatsoeuer authoritie *Cosimo* had either in *Florence*, or elsewhere in Christendome, he deserued the same: notwithstanding, in the end of his life, he had great sorrowes. For of two onely sonnes, *Pietro*, and *Giouanni*, the one (of whome he had most hope) dyed: the other was continually sick, and therefore vnable either for publique or priuate function. In so much as his sonne being dead, he caused him to be carried about the house, and he following the Coarse, sighed, and saide, this house is ouer great for so small a familie. It also offended the greatnesse of his minde, that he had not (in his owne opinion) enlarged the *Florentine* dominion with some honorable conquest. And it grieved him the more, knowing that *Francesco Sforza* had deceiued him, who being but Earle, promised, that so soone as hee was possessed of *Milan*, hee would winne the Cittie of *Lucca* for the *Florentines*. Which was not performed, because the Earle with his fortune changed his minde, and being become Duke, determined to enioy that state with peace, which he had gotten by warre. Therefore he would neither keepe touch with *Cosimo* nor any other, neither would he after he was Duke, make anie more warres then those that for his owne defence hee

was

was enforced vnto. Which grieued *Cosimo* greatly, finding that he had endured great paines, and spent much, to aduance a man vnthankfull and perfidious. Moreouer by the weaknesse of his bodie, he found himselfe vnfit to follow either priuate or publique affaires, whereby the one, and the other, miscarried. Because the Citie was destroyed by the Citizens, and his owne substance by his confidents and children consumed. All these things in the later end of his age, did greatly disquiet his minde: Notwithstanding he died with glorie. And all the principall Citizens, and all the Christian Princes did condole his death with *Pietro* his sonne, and accompanied his coarseto the Temple of *S. Lorenzo*, where with great pompe it was buried: and by publique consent was written vpon his Tombe, *Pater Patria*. If in this discourse of *Cosimo*, I haue imitated those, which haue written the liues of Princes, and not those which write vniuersall histories: let no man marueile thereat. For hee being a rare man in our Citie, deserued I should affoord him extraordinary commendation. In those dayes, that *Florence* and *Italy* stood in the conditions aforesaide, *Lewes* King of *France*, was with greuous warres assaulted. For the Lords of his owne Countrey, asisted by the Dukes of *Bretagne* and *Burgogne*, made the war so great vpon the King, that he had no meane to aide the Duke *Giouanni de Angio*, in his enterprise of *Genoua* and the kingdome. But iudging that he had neede of ayd whatsoever, he gaue the Citie of *Sauona* (then in his hand and kept by French men) to *Francesco* Duke of *Milan*: letting him vnderstand, that (if he so pleased) he might also with his fauour, assault *Genoua*. Which offer was accepted by *Francesco*, and either through the reputation of the Kings friendship, or the fauour of the *Adorni*, he became Lord of *Genoua*. Then to declare himselfe thankfull for the benefit receiued of the King, he sent into *France* to the Kings aide, a thousand fise hundreth horse, conducted by *Galiazzo* his eldest sonne. Thus *Ferrando* of *Aragon*, and *Francesco Sforza*, were become, the one Duke of *Lombardy* and Prince of *Genoua*: the other, King of all the kingdome of *Naples*. And hauing married their children, the one, to the other, they deuised by what meanes they might, during their liues, maintaine their countries with securitie: and after their deaths, so leaue the same to their heires. For which purpose, they thought it necessarie, that the King should assure himselfe of those Barons, which in the war of *Giouanni de Angio*, had disobeyed him: and that the Duke should endeouour himselfe to extinguish those that had bene brought vp in the warres by the *Bracci*, naturall enemies to his house, and growne vp in great reputation vnder *Giacopo Piccinino*, who was the chiefe Captaine in all *Italy*; and such a one as euerie Prince ought to beware of: chiefly the Duke who could not account his dominion assured, nor leaue the same to his sonnes, if *Giacopo* did still liue. The King therefore by all meanes sought to make peace with his Barons, handling the matter cunningly to assure himselfe of them, which fell out very happily. Because the Barons did thinke, that in continuing the warre against their King, the same would be in the end their vndoubted ruine: and yeelding to the peace, they should stand at the kings discretion. But because men do most willingly eschue that euill which is most certaine, it commeth to passe, that Princes may easily deceiue others of lesse power: and so these Lords gaue credit to the King. For they seeing the manifest danger of the warre, yeelded themselves into his hands, and were vpon sundrie occasions by him oppressed: which greatly dismaied *Giacopo Piccinino*, at that time remaining with his forces at *Salmona*. And to remoue occasion whereby the King might oppresse him, he practised by his friends, to be reconciled to the Duke *Francesco*, who hauing made him great and honourable offers, *Giacopo* resolved to put himselfe into his hands: and being accompanied with one hundreth horse, went to *Milan* to present himselfe vnto the Duke. *Giacopo* had long serued his father, and with his brother; first for the Duke

The Duke of
Milan, Lord of
Genoua.

Philippo,

Giacopo Pic-
cinino, ſup-
ped to the
Duke.

Giacopo Pic-
cinino, mur-
thered.

Philippo, and after for the people of *Milan*. Whereby he gained great acquaintance in that Citie, and the good will of the multitude, which was encreased by the present condition of the Citie. For the good fortune, and great power of the house of *Sforza*, had kindled great enuie: And *Giacopo* for his aduerſitie and long absence, was greatly by the people pitied, who desired much to see him. All which things appeared at his comming. For welneare all the Nobilitie went to meet him, and the streets were full of those which desired to see him. Besides that, great honour was spoken of him and his souldiers. All which things, did hasten his destruction, because they encreased suspicion, and the Dukes desire to oppresse him. For the more couert performance thereof, the Duke deuised, that the marriage with his daughter *Drusiana*, who had bene long before contracted vnto him, should now be solemnized. Then he practised with *Ferrando*, to entertaine him, for Generall of his Army, and promised him a hundreth thousand Florins in prest. After this conclusion, *Giacopo*, accompanied with the Dukes Embassador, and *Drusiana* his wife, went vnto *Naples*, where he was ioyfully and honourably receiued: and for diuerſe dayes entertained with all sorts of triumph and feasting. But at length desiring to go vnto his Campe (which he left at *Salmona*) he was by the King conuited to dinner in the Castle. The dinner being ended, both he and his sonne were imprisoned, and shortly after put to death. Whereby may be perceiued, that our *Italian* Princes haue feared that vertue in others, which was not to be found in themſelues: and did smother the same so long, as no vertue at all being left, our country became shortly after, afflicted and ruined. In these dayes the Pope *Pio* hauing settled all things in *Romagna*, thought the time serued well, in respect of the vniuersall peace, to moue the Christians to make warre against the Turke: according to the plot set downe by his predecessors. To the performance of this exploit, all Princes did contribute mony or men. And in particuler *Mathia* King of *Hungary*, and *Carlo* Duke of *Borgogna*, promising to go in person, were by the Pope made Captaines generall of that iourney. The Pope had so great hope of proceeding in this enterpriſe, that he went from *Rome* to *Ancona*, where all the Armie were appointed to assemble: and the *Venetians* did promise to send vessels to passe the souldiers into *Schiauonia*. After the Popes arrual in that Citie, the concourse of people there was so great, that within fewe dayes all the victuall of that citie, and that could be brought thither from other places thereabouts, did not suffice. In so much as euerie man began to taste of famine. Moreouer, there wanted mony to furnish the souldiers of things needfull, and arme those that were disarmed. *Mathia* and *Carlo* appeared not, and the *Venetians* sent thither one onely Captaine with a fewe Gallies, rather to shewe their pompe, and seeme to haue kept promise; then to passe the Armie. So as the Pope being old and sicke, in the middest of these businesses and disorders, died. After whose death, euerie man returned home. This Pope being dead, the yeare 1465. *Paulo secundo*, borne in the Cittie of *Venice*, aspired to the Papacie. About that time, many other states of *Italy* changed their gouernment. For the same yeare following, died *Francesco Sforza*, Duke of *Milan*, hauing vsurped that Dukedome sixteene yeares. And *Gializzo* his sonne, was proclaimed Duke. The death of this Prince, was the occasion that the diuisions of *Florence*, became of more force, and wrought their effects with the more speed. After the death of *Cosimo di Medici*, *Piero* his sonne being left in possession of the goods and lands of his father, called vnto him, *Diotisalui Neroni*, a man of great authoritie, among the other citizens of most reputation: and one in whom *Cosimo* reposed so great trust, as at his death he willed *Piero* both in his substance & state, to be by his counsel gouerned. *Piero* accordingly declared vnto *Diotisalui* the trust which *Cosimo* had in him: And because he would shewe himselfe as obedient to his father after death, as he

The death of
the Duke Frá-
cesco.

Piero di Me-
dici.

he was in his life: he desired *Diotisalui* to assist him with his counsell, both for the order of his patrimonie, and the government of the Citie; and to begin with his own priuate businesse, he commaunded all his Officers to resort vnto him with their accounts, and leaue the same with *Diotisalui*, to the end that he might finde out the order and disorder of their doings, and so counsell him what was best afterwards to be done. *Diotisalui* promised to vse diligence, and performe the trust in him reposed. The Officers being come and examined, were found to haue committed many disorders. And thereupon (as a man that more respected his owne ambition, then the loue he bare to *Piero*, or the benefits he had receiued of *Cosimo*) imagined it was easie to deceiue *Piero* of the reputation, and liuings left him by his father. *Diotisalui* came vnto *Piero* offering him counsaile, which seemed verie honest and reasonable, yet vnder the same laie hidden the destruction of *Piero*. Hee told him what disorder he found in his affaires, and how it behoued him to prouide great summes of mony for the holding of his credit, and reputation in the state; and therefore said, he could not more honestly repaire his disorders and losses, then by calling in those debtes which many straungers and Citizens did owe vnto his father. For *Cosimo* to gaine himselfe followers in *Florence*, and friends abroad, was exceeding liberall of his substance; and had for that occasion lent out summes of great importance. This counsaile to *Piero* seemed good, and honest, supposing he should by execution thereof, without perill, repaire himselfe with his owne. Notwithstanding so soone as hee called for these debtes, the Citizens grew no lesse offended, then if hee should haue desired their owne goods, and without respect they spake euill of him, slaundering him to be a man vnthankfull and couetous. *Diotisalui* seeing this common and populer disgrace, which *Piero* had gotten by his counsaile, ioyned himselfe with *Lucca Pitti*, *Agnolo Acciaiuoli*, and *Nicholo Soderini*, determining to take from *Piero*, reputation and government. These men were moued thereunto for diuerse respects. *Lucca* desired to succeed in the place of *Cosimo*, for hee was aspired to such greatnesse; as hee dildained to await vpon *Piero*. *Diotisalui*, knowing that *Lucca* was not fit to be chiefe of the government, thought if *Piero* had lost his reputation, it would in short time fall vpon himselfe. *Nicholo Soderini*, desired that the Cittie might liue more at libertie, and that the Magistrates might gouerne at their discretion. Also betwixt *Agnolo* and the house of *Medici*, remained particuler displeasures. The occasion whereof was this. *Rafaello* his sonne, had long before, taken to wife *Alessandra de Bardi*, and receiued with her a great dowrie. She, either through her owne default, or the mallice of others, was by her father in lawe and her husband, euill handled. Whereupon *Brenzo de Illarione* her kinsman, being moued with compassion, went in the night accompanied with many armed men, and tooke her out of the house of *Agnolo*. *Agnolo* and the rest of the *Acciaiuoli*, complained of this iniurie done them, by the *Bardi*. The matter was committed to the hearing of *Cosimo*, who iudged that the *Acciaiuoli* should restore the marriage money receiued with *Alessandra*, and shee after to return to her husband, or not, as her selfe was disposed. *Agnolo* thought himselfe in this iudgement not friendly handled by *Cosimo*, of whom, because hee could not be reuenged, he thought to execute the reuenge vpon his sonne. These conspirators notwithstanding the diuersitie of their humors, pretended all one occasion, saying they would haue the Citie gouerned by the magistrates, and not by the counsaile of a fewe. The displeasure towards *Piero*, and the euill speech of him was increased by many marchants, who at that time became bankerout, and laide the fault thereof vpon *Piero*, for that he calling home his money hastily, had hindered their credit, and forced them with the preiudice of the Citie to be vndone. Besides that, they did surmise, that he practised to marry his sonne with *Clarise Orsini*. Whereof

Dissimulation
of Diotisalui
Neroni.

A practise a-
gainst Piero
di Medici.

Offence be-
tween the Ac-
ciaiuoli and
the Medici.

the

the Citizens conceiued that he did disdain to make alliance with any Citizen: therefore prepared to vsurpe the state, and make himselfe Prince. For whosoeuer disdaineth his owne Citizens to be of his kindred, desireth to haue them his subiects. In these respects they had no reason to be his friends. The leaders of this sedition, perswaded themselues to haue the victorie in their own hands, because the greater number of the Citizens (deceiued with the name of libertie, whereby they vsed to make their enterprises, seeme more honest) followed them. These humours then boyling in the breasts of the Cittizens, it was thought good to them, whome ciuill disorder displeased, to assaie, if by some new found mirth or feast, the mindes of men might be settled. For most commonly the idle people be instruments for those that desire alteration. Then to remoue this idlenesse, and giue some occasion to alienate the minds of men from consideration of the state, the yeare of *Cosimo* his death being passed, they tooke occasion to make the Citie some mirth, ordeining two triumphs more solemne then was the custome. The one made representation how the three *Magi* came from the East, following the starre that ledde them to the place where Christ was borne: which was performed with so great solemnitie, as entertained the Citie diuerse moneths. The other was a torniament, wherein the principall yoong Gentlemen of the Citie exercised Armes against all the chiefe men of Armes in *Italy*. And of the *Florentine* youth, *Lorenzo* the eldest sonne of *Piero* gained most honor: for not by fauour, but in deed by his owne valour, he wanne the best prize. These triumphs being ended, the Citizens returned to thinke of the state, and euerie man with more care then before, studied to maintaine his owne opinion, whereof great diuersitie of conceits, and troubles ensued. The one was, that the authoritie of *Balia* tooke no effect. The other, by the death of *Francesco* Duke of *Milan*. Whereuppon the newe Duke *Galiazzo* sent Embassadors to *Florence*; to confirme the capitulations made by *Francesco* his father: wherein among other things it was concluded, that yearely the Duke should receiue from them certaine summes of money. Vpon this Article, the Governours of the state, tooke occasion to hold opinion contrarie to the House of *Medici*, publiquely in these Councils, inueying against that payment, alleaging that pencion to be promised, not to *Galiazzo*, but vnto *Francesco*. For *Francesco* being dead, there was no cause to cōtinue it. Because in *Galiazzo* there was not that vertue, which was in *Francesco*: and so consequently, that good was not, nor could not be looked for at his hand, which was found at his fathers. And although of *Francesco* they receiued not much; yet were they to looke for lesse of *Galiazzo*: and if any Citizen would entertaine him; to mainteine his owne priuate power; that were a thing contrarie to ciuill life, and the libertie of the Citie. *Piero* on the contrary, alleaged, that it were not well done, through conetousnesse, to lose a friendship so necessarie: and that there was nothing so meete, for the Common-weale, and all *Italy*, as to continue in league with the Duke. To the ende that the *Venetians* seeing them vnited, might not hope either by fained friendship or by open warre, to oppresse the Dukedome: For if they should perceiue, the *Florentines* to haue forsaken the Duke, they would presently take Armes, and the rather, knowing he was yoong, newly come to the gouernment, and without friends. Wherof they might hope either by fraud or force to win his countrey, which would be also the vtter ruine of the *Florentine* Common-weale. These reasons were not allowed, and secret hatred began openly to shewe it selfe. For the same night, either partie, in diuerse companies assembled. The friends of the *Medici*, met at *Crocetta*, and their aduersaries in *La Pieta*, who studying to oppresse *Piero*, had gotten their enterprise subscribed with the hands of many Citizens. Also, being among many other times, one night assembled, they held a particuler Councell for the maner of their proceeding; when euerie man consented

League betweene the Duke *Galiazzo* and the *Florentines*.

Consultation to oppresse the *Medici*.

to diminish the power of the *Medici* : yet in the order how to bring the matter to passe, they concurred not. Some, that were of most modest nature, thought that the authoritie of the *Balia* being ended, it were best to finde meanes, that the same might not be reuiued : for if the Councils and Magistrates did gouerne the Cittie, the authoritie of *Piero* would be in short space extinguished ; and with losse of his reputation in the state, he should also lose his credit in merchandize. For being no more in place, where he might imploy the publique treasure, he should of necessitie grow weake ; which being brought to passe, there would not be after any cause to feare him : and all this practise might bee performed without banishment of anie man, and the libertie without bloud recouered, which euery good Cittizen ought to desire. But if they proceeded by force, many perils might be incurred : for whosoever is readie to fall alone, if he be forced by others, will labour to staie himself vp. Moreover, when nothing is done extraordinarily against him, he shall not haue any occasion to Arme himselfe, or seeke friends ; or if he should, the same would turne to his great reproach, and breede suspicion in euerie man : so as his ouerthrow shall be the more easie, and others take occasion the rather to oppresse him. Many others of that assembly liked not this delaie: affirming the time fauoured him, & not them. For if they were contented with ordinary proceedings, *Piero* was in no danger at all, and they in great perill : Because the Magistrates (notwithstanding they were his enemies,) would suffer him in the Citie, and his friends, with their ruine (as it happened in the yeare 58.) would make him Prince ; and as the former counsell proceeded from good men, so this was the opinion of wise men. It was therefore necessary, that while men be displeased, to make him sure. The meane to bring the same to effect, was to be armed both within and without, and also to enterteine the *Marquesse of Ferrara*, to be the better defended. Which done, when a *Senate* happened to be for the purpose, then to make all assured. In this resolution they staid till the next *Senate*, and proceeded according to the quallitie thereof. Among the conspirators, was *Nicholo Fedini*, whom they imployed as Chauncellor, he perswaded with a hope more certaine, reuealed to *Piero*, all the practise agreed vpon by his enemies, and deliuered him a note of all their names ; which *Piero* perused, and seeing the number and quallitie of the Citizens who had conspired against him, tooke counsell of his friends, and made a note likewise of them. Then he committed this rolle of friends to be made by one whom he most trusted, who considering therof, found so great varietie, and instabilitie, in the mindes of the Citizens, that many who had bene written for his enemies, were also inrolled among the rest, who were accounted his friends. During the space that these matters, with these alteratiōs were handled, the time was come to chuse two supream Officers, and *Nicholo Soderini* was elected *Gonfaloniere de Giustitia*. It was a maruellous thing to see, with what concurrence not onely of honourable Citizens, but of all sorts of people, he was accompanied to the Pallace, and passing vpon the waie, they set on his head a garland of Oliffe, to shewe that of him depended the welfare and libertie of the Countrey. By this and many like experiences, it is proued, that men should not take vpon them any Office or principallitie with extraordinarie opinion. For not being able to performe such expectation (men desiring more then can be) doth in time breed his own dishonour and infamie. *Thomaso* and *Nicholo Soderini* were brethren : *Nicholo* was the bolder and more couragious, but *Thomaso*, the wiser, and friend to *Piero*. Who knowing his brothers humour, that he desired onely the libertie of the Cittie, and that the state might be settled without harme of any, perswaded *Nicholo* to make new *Squittini*, whereby the *Borſe* might be filled with such Cittizens as loued to liue in libertie. By doing whereof, the state should be at his will settled without tumult or
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iniury to anie. *Nicholo* gaue credit to the counsell of his brother, and in these vaine imaginations consumed the time of his office, till by the chiefe of the conspirators his friends, he was suffered to sincke: as they that would not for enuie, that the gouernment should be with the authoritie of *Nicholo* renewed, and hoping euer they might in time, vnder some other *Gonfaloniere* worke the same effect. The end of the magistracie of *Nicholo* come, and many things by him begun, but nothing ended, he yeelded vp his authoritie with more dishonour, then with honour, he had entered the same. This matter made the faction of *Piero* glad, and confirmed his friends in the hope they had of his good successe. And thole that before stood neutrall, ioyned with *Piero*, and matters being thus in a readinesse, for diuerse months without other tumult, they temporized. Notwithstanding the part of *Piero* stil encreased in strength, wherof the enemies tooke knowledge and ioyned themselues together, to performe that by force, which by meane of the Magistrates they might easily haue done before; and so concluded to kill *Piero* lying sicke at *Careggi*: for which purpose, they sent to the Marquesse of *Farrara*, to come vnto the Citie with his forces, and *Piero* being slaine, they determined to march armed into the Market place, and cause the *Senate* to settle the gouernment according to their will. For albeit all the Citizens were not their friends, yet they that were their enemies would for feare giue place. *Diotisalui* (the rather to cloake his intent) oftentimes visited *Piero*, and reasoned with him of the vnitng of the Citie. All these practises had bene reuealed to *Piero*, and *Domenico Martegli* also gaue him intelligence, that *Francesco Neroni*, brother to *Diotisalui*, had perswaded him, to be of his conspiracie: alleaging the victorie was certain, and assured. Thereupon *Piero* determined to be the first that should take armes, and fained an occasion vppon the practises of his enemies, with the Marquesse of *Farrara*. He pretended therefore to haue receiued a Letter from *Giouanni Bentiuogli*, Prince in *Bologna*, whereby he was aduertised, that the Marquesse of *Farrara* was with his forces marched to the Riuer of *Albo*, and (as was commonly thought) intended to come to *Florence*. Vpon these aduertisements *Piero* tooke armes, and with a great multitude of men armed, came to *Florence*, where all others that followed him armed themselues. The contrary partie did the like: but *Piero* his followers were the better prepared, because the others had not so great warning therof. *Diotisalui* dwelling neare vnto *Piero*, thought not himselfe assured at home, but sometimes he went to the Pallace, to perswade the *Senate* to cause *Piero* to laie downe his armes, & sometimes he resorted to *Lucca*, to intreate him to stand firme to his faction. But of all others, *Nicholo Soderini* shewed himself of most courage; for he presently tooke armes, and being followed of all the common people of his quarter, went vnto the house of *Lucca*, desiring him to mount on horsebacke, and come to the Market place in fauour of the *Senate*, which fauoured them, and therefore might hope of victorie certaine. But if he remained in his house, hee should be either by the armed men oppressed, or by those that were disarmed shamefully deceiued. Or if he should after repent that he did not take armes, that repentance were too late. But if he wold with the warre oppresse *Piero*, he might easily do it: and after if he liked to make peace, it was better for him to giue, then to receiue the conditions therof. These words moued not *Lucca*, hauing already settled his mind, and promised to *Piero* new alliances, and new conditions. For he had already married vnto *Giouanni Tornabuoni*, one of his neeces, and therefore perswaded *Nicholo* to laie downe armes, and returne to his house. For it ought to suffice him, that the Cittie should be gouerned by the Magistrates, and it would come to passe, that euerie man would laie downe armes: and the *Senators* being the stronger pattie, should be Iudge of the controuersie. *Nicholo* then seeing he could not otherwise perswade him, returned home. But first said vnto

Lucca,

Perfwasions
of Nicholo
Soderini, a-
gainst the
Medici.

Lucca, I cannot alone worke the well doing of our Citie, but I alone can prognosticate the euil whereinto it is falling. This resolution you haue made, will breed losse of libertie to our country, your deprivation of gouernment and wealth, and my banishment. The *Senate* in this tumult shut vp the Pallace, and the Magistrates kept themselues therein, not seeming to fauour any part. The Citizens (and chiefly those who had followed *Lucca*) seeing *Piero* armed, and his aduersaries disarmed, began to deuise, not how to offend *Piero*, but how to become his friends. Whereupon the chief citizens & leaders of the factions, went to the Pallace, & in the presence of the *Senate*, debated many things touching the state of the Cittie, and pacification thereof. And for that, *Piero* by reason of his infirmitie could not come thither, they determined by consent to go all vnto him, (*Nicholo Soderini* except) who hauing first recommended his children & familie to *Tomaso*, went to his owne house in the country, aspecting there the euent of these matters, accounting himselfe vnhappie, and for his countrey infortunate. The other Cittizens being come to the presence of *Piero*, one of them appointed to speake, complained of the tumults in the Cittie, declaring that they, who first tooke armes were most too blame: they not knowing what *Piero*, (who indeed did first take armes) would doo. They were come therefore to vnderstand what was his intent, which (being for good of the Cittie) they would follow the same. Whereunto *Piero* answered, that hee who taketh armes first, is not euer the cause of disorder, but he that giueth first occasion: and if they would consider what their behauiours had bene towards him, they should maruaile lesse at that he had done for his own safetie. For therby they should see, that their assemblies in the night, their subscriptions, & their practises to take from him his gouernment & life, were the occasions why he tooke armes: which not vsed but in the defence of his owne house, and not the offence of them, sufficiently proued his intent was to defend himselfe, and not to harme others. Neither would he any thing, or desired more then his own securitie & quiet, nor had giue cause, that they shuld think he sought for other. For the authoritie of *Balia* discontinued, he neuer laboured by extraordinarie meane to reuiue it; and was well content that the Magistrates should gouern the citie if they so pleased: assuring them, that *Cosimo* and his children could liue in *Florence* honorably both with and without the *Balia*; and that the yeare 58. the same had bene; not by his house, but by them renewed; and if now they wold not haue it more, he should also be so contented. But this sufficed not for them: for he found that his aduersaries beleued, they could not dwell in *Florence*, if he also there dwelled. A thing which he neuer thought that the friends of his father & him wold feare to liue in *Florence* with him, hauing euer born himselfe among them, as a quiet and peaceable man. Then (turning his speech to *Diotisalui* & his brethren there present) he reprobued them with words of much grauitie & offence: putting the in mind what benefits they had receiued of *Cosimo*, how much he had trusted the, & how vnthankfully they had vsed him. Which words wrought such effect in some that were present, that if *Piero* had not staid them, they sodenly wold haue striken *Diotisalui*. In conclusion, *Piero* said he wold maintein euery thing, that they & the *Senat* had determined. And that he desired nothing, but to liue quiet & assured. After this speech was ended, many matters were comoned of, yet nothing don: but in general was concluded, that it was necessary to reunite the citie & reform the state. At that time *Barnardo Lotti* was *Gonfaloniere de Giustitia*, a man not trusted by *Piero*, wherefore thought not good to attempt any thing during his Magistracy: but the end of his authority drawing neare, election was made by the *Senators* of a *Gonfaloniere* to sit in September and October 1466. And they elected *Roberto Lioni*: who was no sooner in office, (all other thinges beeing prepared) but hee assembled the people in

The speech of
the Cittizens
to Piero di
Medici.

The answer
of Piero.

The enemies
of the Medici
vanquished.

The fall of
Lucca Pitti.

The letter of
Agnolo Acciaiuoli, to
Piero di Medici.

The answer
of Piero.

the Market place, and made a new *Balia*, all of the faction of *Piero*; which shortly created the Magistrates, according to the will of the new government, which terrified the heads of the enemies, and *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* fled to *Naples*, *Diotisalvi Neroni*, and *Nicholo Soderini* to *Venice*, and *Lucca Pitti* remained in *Florence*: trusting to the promises of *Piero*, and the new alliance with his house. All the fugitives were proclaimed Rebels, and all the familie of *Neroni* dispersed. Also *Giouanni Neroni* then Bishop of *Florence*, to auoide a worse mischiefe, voluntarily confined himselfe to *Rome*. Many other likewise banished themselves to diuers places, neither did this suffice: but a publike procesion was ordeined to giue God thanks for the preservation, and vniting the state. In the solemnization wherof, some citizens were apprehended & tormented. Afterwards part of them put to death, & the rest confined. In this variation of fortune, there was nothing so notable, as the example of *Lucca Pitti*: who sodeinly saw the difference of victorie, and losse of honor, and dishonor. For his house, whereunto was wont be great repaire, became vnfrequented; himself that had bin accustomed to passe the streets folowed with many friends & kinsfolks, could neither be accompanied, nor scarcely saluted: because some of them had lost their offices, some their goods, & al the rest threatned. His stately houses in building, were by the workmen abandoned. Those that were wont to present him, did now offer him iniury & despise. Some who had giuē him presents of great value, did now demand them again as things lent. Others that were wont with praises to extoll him to the skies, did as a person vngratefull and violent, blame him. So that ouerlate he repented his not giuing credit to *Nicholo Soderini*, and that he did not with sword in hand rather die honourably, then among his victorious enemies, liue dishonored. These that were banished, sought by sundrie meanes to recouer the Citie, they had lost. Yet *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* being at *Naples*, before hee attempted any thing, thought good to feele the disposition of *Piero*, and what hope remained of reconciliation: writing vnto him, as followeth. I smile to see, what sports fortune doth make her self, and how at her pleasure she frameth of foes friends, and of friends foes. You can remember that at the banishment of your father (esteeming more his iniury then mine own danger) I lost my country, & was like to haue also lost my life. Neither (in al his time) did I euer omit, to honor and fauour your house, nor after his death haue had any intent to offend you. True it is, that your own vnhealthie disposition, & the tender yeares of your children, brought me into such feare, as I thought it behoued me to take order, that after your death, our countrey should not be ruined. For which cōsideratiō I haue done diuers things, not against you, but for the good of my country. Wherein, if I haue committed error, the same ought be, for my good intent, and passed seruice, pardoned. Neither can I beleue other, but that (in respect of ancient loue to your house) I shal at this occasiō find mercy, & my manifold merits, shal not be, by one onely fault cancelled. *Piero* hauing perused this letter, answered thus. Your laughing there you are, is the occasion that I weep not here where I am: for if you had laughed at *Florence*, I should haue wept at *Naples*. I denie not your well deseruing of my father, sith your self wil confesse to haue tasted his liberalitie: and by how much that deedes be esteemed aboue words, by so much your obligation is more thē ours. You then recompenced for your good, may not maruell, though for your euil, you receiue deserued punishmēt. Let not the loue of your country excuse you: sith there is no man beleueth, that this citie hath bin lesse loued & profitted by the *Medici*, thē the *Acciaiuoli*. I do therefore wish you with dishonor to remain there, sith here in honor you knew not how to lead your life. *Agnolo* thus despairing of pardon, went to *Rome*, & there conferred with the Archbishop, & other banished men, of the mean wherby they might take reputation frō the house of *Medici*: which *Piero* with

with difficultie (notwithstanding the aide of his friendes) could prevent. *Diotisalui* and *Nicholo Soderini*, likewise practised to make the *Senate* of *Venice* enemy to their countrey: thinking thereby, that if with any new warre the *Florentines* were assailed, the government being new and hated, they should not be able to defend themselves. In those daies *Giouan Francesco* the sonne of *Palla Strozzi* liued in *Farrara*, and had bene together with his father, banished in the alteration of the state, the yeare 34. This *Giouanni* had great credit, and was holden amongst other merchants a man of great riches. The newe Rebelles declared vnto him, the great facilitie they found to recouer their countrey, if the *Venetians* would take the enterprise in hand: which he thought they would be easily perswaded vnto, if part of their charges might be borne. *Giouan Francesco*, who desired to reuenge himselfe of the iniuries receiued, easily gaue credite to their counsaile: and promised with all his wealth, to furnish the enterprise. Then went they all together vnto the Duke, complaining of the exile whereinto they saide themselves were fallen, not for any other fault, but because they desired that their countrey might be gouerned with the lawes thereof: and that the Magistrates and not a fewe others should be honoured. For *Piero de Medici* with others his followers, accustomed to liue tyrannically, had by deceit taken armes, and by deceit caused them to disarm themselves, and afterwards by deceit expelled them out of their Citie. Neither were they so content, but they would also therein pretend deuotion to God, and by that colour oppresse others. For at the assemblie of the Citizens, and at publike and sacred ceremonies (to the intent God should be partaker of their treasons) they apprehended, imprisoned, and slewe manie Citizens: which was an example of great impietie and wickednesse. For reuenge wherof, they knew not whither to resort with more hope, then to that *Senate* which hauing euer liued free, could not but take compassion of those, who had lost their liberties. Then they perswaded all men that loued libertie to detest tirants: & those that were godly, to abhorre impious people. Putting them in mind, that the house of *Medici* had taken from them, the dominiõ of *Lombardy*, at such time as *Cosimo* (without consent of the other citizens, & the *Senate*) fauoured & aided *Francesco*. So that though they had no compassion of the *Florentines*, yet the reuẽge of the iniuries done to the *Venetians*, ought to moue them. These last words moued all the *Senat* to determine that *Bartolomeo Coglione* their General, should assault the dominiõ of *Florence*. He with all speed possible assembled the army, & with him ioyned *Hercole Este*, sent by *Borso* Marquesse of *Farrara*. They at the first entrie (the *Florentines* not being prepared) burnt the Towne of *Dauadola*, and spoyled some other places in the countrey thereabout. But the *Florentines* (hauing driuen out all the enemies to *Piero*) made league with *Galiazzo* Duke of *Milan*, and with the King *Ferrando*. Then they entertained *Federigo* Earle of *Vrbino*, for their General; and founde themselves so friended, as they feared little the force of their enemies. For *Ferrando* sent thither *Alfonso* his eldest sonne, and Duke *Galiazzo* came in person: either of them leading a conuenient number, and they altogether made head at *Castracaro*, a Castle belonging to the *Florentines*: builded at the foot of those Alpes, wherby men passe from *Toscana* to *Romagna*. In the meane time the enemies were retired towards *Imola*, and so between the one and the other army (according to the custome of those daies,) some light skirmishes happened, but no townes by either of them besieged, nor any disposition in either of them to fight with their enemy, but euerie man remaining within his Tent, continued the wars with great cowardice. This maner of proceedings, greatly offended the Gouernors in *Florence*, finding themselves charged by a warre, wherein they spent much, and could hope for litle. And the Magistrates complained of those Citizens who were made

Complaint of
the banished
Florentines
to the Senate
of Venice.

The Floren-
tines assaulted
by the Venc-
tians & Mar-
quesse of Far-
rara.

Commissaries in that enterprise. They answered, that Duke *Galiazzo* was occasion thereof, for hee hauing most authoritie and least experience, knewe not what was profitable, nor would not beleue others of more skill: and that it was impossible, so long as hee remained in the armie, that anie thing should be done with honour and commoditie. Wherefore the *Florentines* saide vnto the Duke, albeit for their profit it was best he should be personally in their aide, because the reputation of his presence was the fittest meane to terrifie the enimie; notwithstanding for that they esteemed more his safetie, then their state, or proper commoditie, they thought not fit he should remaine long from *Milan*, being newly come to his gouernment, and hauing there diuerse strong enemies to be suspected: so that, if any of them should practise against him, they might easily in his absence, do it. For which respects they perswaded him to returne home, and leaue part of his forces for their defence. This counsell contented *Galiazzo*, and without further consideration, returned to *Milan*. The *Florentine* Captaines disburthened of this let, to declare the same was the true occasion of their slow proceeding, drew so neare to the enimie, that they ioyned battle: which continued one half day, neither partie yeelding to other. Notwithstanding there was not anie man therein slaine, but some horses hurt, and a fewe prisoners on either part taken. The winter now being come, and the season of the yeare no longer seruing for the fiede, they retired to their lodgings. *Bartolomeo* went to *Rauenna*, the *Florentines* into *Toscana*: the Kings souldiers and the Dukes, resorted home to their maisters Countries. But so soone as this assault beganne to be forgotten, and no disorder made in *Florence*, as the *Florentine* Rebels promised, and the other souldiers wanting paie, were content to entreate of peace, which with small difficultie was concluded. The Rebels then despairing of all hope, to diuerse places dispersed themselues. *Diotisalui* went to *Farrara*, where he was by the Marquesse *Borso*, receiued, and relieued. *Nicholo Soderini* fledde to *Rauenna*, where liuing long vppon a poore pencion giuen him by the *Venetians*, in the ende there died. This *Nicholo* was accounted a man iust and couragious, yet vncertaine and slowe of his resolution: which was the cause that the *Gonfaloniere* lost that opportunitie, which being out of office, hee would haue taken, but could not. The peace concluded, the Citizens who remained in *Florence* with victorie, thinking themselues not assured, vnlesse they did as well oppresse those they suspected, as their apparant enemies, perswaded *Bardo Altouti*, then *Gonfaloniere d'Giustitia*, to remoue more Cittizens from their offices, and to banish many others. Which thing greatly encreased the power of that faction, and terrified the contrarie part: which power they vsed without respect, and proceeded so much at their pleasure, as it seemed, that God and fortune had consented to gine that Cittie into their hands. Of which doings, *Piero* knew little, and that litle, he could not (being afflicted with sicknesse) remedie. For his diseases were so great) as he could not vse any member saue only his tongue: wherwith he exhorted them, and praied them to liue ciuilly, and enioy their natiue country, rather entire thē broken. And for the comfort of the Citie, he determined with magnificence to celebrate the marriage of *Lorenzo* his sonne, who was alreadie contracted to *Clarice*, discended of the house of *Orsini*: which marriage was performed with great pompe, as to so magnificent a feast appertained. For performance of these triumphs, diuers daies were consumed in feasting, dancing, & publike shews. Wherunto was also ioined (for more apparāce of greatnes of the *Medici*) 2. marshal exercises; the one represented a battle fought in the fiede; the other, of a towne besieged: which things were deuised in good order, & performed with so much vertue as might be. While these matters were doing in *Florence*, the rest of *Italy* liued quiet, but yet in great suspitiō
of

Peace be-
tweene the
Florentines
and Veneti-
ans.

of the Turke, who proceeded still in his enterprife against the Christians, and had wonne *Negroponti*, to the great infamie and dishonour of the Christian name. Then died *Borso* Marquesse of *Farrara*, to whom succeeded his brother *Hercule*. Euen then died also *Gismondo da Rimino*, a perpetuall enemy to the Church: who left to inherit that state, *Roberto* his naturall sonne; afterwards accounted the most excellent Capitaine of *Italy*. Then likewise died the Pope *Pagolo*: in whose place was created *Sisto* Pope Sisto. *quarto*, called before his creation *Francesco da Sauona*, a man of base and vile condition: yet for his vertue made Generall of the order of *S. Francesco*, and afterwards Cardinall. This Pope was the first that beganne to shewe of what great force the Papacie was, and that manie things before time accounted faults, might be by Papall authoritie, couered. This Pope had amongst many others in his house, two men, the one called *Picro*, and the other *Gerolamo*: who (as euerie man thought) were his vnlawfull sonnes: notwithstanding men called them by other names more honest. *Piero* being made a Frier, was preferred to the dignitie of Cardinall, and called Cardinall of *S. Sisto*. To *Gerolamo* he gauethe Cittie of *Furli*, and tooke it by force from *Antonio Ordelaffi*, whose auncestors had bene long time Princes there. This ambitious manner of proceeding, made him the more esteemed by the Princes of *Italy*, and euery of them sought which way to be accounted his friend. The Duke of *Milan* gaue his daughter *Catterina* in marriage to *Gerolamo*, and with her the Citie of *Imola*, which by force he had taken frō *Taddeo Alidosi*. Betwixt this Duke, and the King *Ferrando*, was also made new alliance. For *Elizabella* daughter to *Alfonso*, eldest sonne of the King, was married to *Ciouan Galiazzo*, eldest sonne to the Duke. Thus *Italy* continued quiet, and the greatest care of the Princes was, one to honor the other: and with new alliances, friendships, & leagues, one to assure himselfe of the other. But notwithstanding so great a peace, *Florence* was by the Citizens thereof greatly afflicted. And *Piero* being troubled with ambition of the Citizens, and his own diseases, could not procure remedie: yet to discharge his conscience, and laie before them their misdemeanor, he called to his presence the chiefe *Florentines*, and said vnto them as followeth. I neuer thought that anie time could come, when the maner & behauior of friends would proue such, as to make meloue & desire my enemies: or that I might wish victory to be conuerted to losse. Because I thought my selfe accompanied with men, whose appetites were confined to measure; & that it sufficed them to liue in their country assured & honoured, and (that which is more) vpon their enemies reuenged. But now I know my self far deceiued, as he that knew little the ambition of men, and least of all yours. For it contenteth you not to be Princes of so great a Cittie, and among you a few to haue the honors, offices, and commodities, wherewith many Citizens were wont to be honored. It contented you not to haue the goods of your enemies among you diuided. It contenteth you not, to burthen others with publike charges, & you free from all paiments, to take the publike profit: but you wil also with euery kind of iniury molest them. You cease not to rob your neighbors; you feare not to sell iustice; you flie ciuill iudgement; you oppresse peaceable men, and aduance those that be insolent. Neither do I beleue that there is in all *Italy*, so many examples of violence & couetousnes, as be in this cittie. But sith it hath giuen you life, why do you take life from it? If it hath made you victorious, why should we destroy it? If it hath honored vs, why haue we disdained it? I promise you by that faith, which ought to be giuē and receiued amōg good mē, that if you behaue your selues so, as I shal repent me of my victory, I wil so do, as you shal also repēt that you haue abused it. Those citizens according to the time answered resonably. Notwithstanding they continued still in their insolēt doings. In so much as *Piero* sent secretly to *Agnolo Acciaiuoli* (who came vnto

The Oration
of P. di Medici
to the Florentines.

Death of Piero di Medici.

Tomaso Soderini.

Giuliano and Lorenzo di Medici.

Conspiracy of the Nardi.

him at *Cafaggiuolo*) and there they reasoned at length touching the estate of the Citie. And surely had he not bene by death prevented, he would haue called home all the banished men, to bridle the insolencie and oppression of those that liued in the Citie. But death suffered him not to performe so honest an intent: for diseases of bodie and trouble of minde, so greuously handled him, that hee died the fiftie and three yeare of his age. His vertue and bountie, could not be to his Countrey so well knowne, as they deserued: partly because his father liued (welneare as long) and partly, for that those fewe yeares hee ouerliued him, were in ciuill contentions and sicknesse consumed. This *Piero* was buried in the Church of *S. Lorenzo*, neare vnto his father: and his funerall performed with honour and pompe, worthie so great a Cittizen. Of him there remained two sonnes, *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano*, of whome there was good hope, that they would prouie men fit for the state: yet their youth was such as made all men doubt thereof. Amongst other chiefe Cittizens in the gouernment of *Florence*, there was one farre excelling the rest, called *Tomaso Soderini*: whose wisedome and authoritie, not onely to *Florence*, but also to all the Princes in *Italy* was knowne. Hee, after the death of *Piero*, was of all the Cittie reuerenced: and manie Cittizens did daile visite him, as chiefe man of the state. Also diuerse Princes did write vnto him. Neuerthelesse being wise, and knowing what fortune followed him and his house, hee would neuer answeere the Princes Letters: and perswaded the Cittizens they should not resort to his house, but to the houses of the *Medici*. Also to shewe in deedes, that which by words was by him perswaded, hee assembled all the chiefe Gentlemen of euerie family, at the Monastery of *S. Antonio*; whither hee procured that *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano di Medici* should come: and there after a long and graue Oration by him made, they disputed the estate both of that Citie, of all *Italy*, and of the humours of the Princes. Therein concluding, that to continue *Florence* vnited in peace, assured from diuision within, and from warre without, it behoued them to honor those two yoong men, and mainteine the reputation of their house: Because men do not repine to do such things as they haue bene accustomed vnto, but new houses, as they are easily honored, so are they quickly abandoned. For it hath bene euer more easie to mainteine that reputation, where length of time hath extingnished enuy, then to raise a new estimation, which by many occasions may be oppressed. After him spake *Lorenzo*, who notwithstanding his youth, vttered words with so great grauitie & modestie, as gaue euery man hope he would becomee such a one, as indeed afterwards he proued. And before they departed that place, the Cittizens praied the brethren, to receiue them as children, they offering to honor them as fathers. This conclusion set downe, *Giuliano* and *Lorenzo* were honoured as Princes of the Citie, and those that were of counsell with *Tomaso*, did not intermeddle. Thus the *Florentines* liued both within & without so peaceably, as nothing disturbed the Common quiet, till a trouble not looked for arose, which did prognosticate future mischiefe. Among other families (which *Lucca Pitti* ruined) was that of *Nardi*. For *Saluestro* and his brethren being heads of that house, were first sent into exile, and after by the warre which *Bartolomeo Coglione* moued, made Rebels. Of these *Barnardo* brother of *Saluestro*, was a yoong man of great spirit and courage. Hee being poore could not endure banishment: and finding that the peace made had not provided for his returne, determined to make prooffe of somewhat, whereby might grow occasion of warre. For many times of a small beginning, great effects doe followe. Because men bee more willing to prosecute, then beginne anie enterprife. This *Barnardo* had much acquaintance in *Prato*, and much more in the Countrey about *Pistoia*: chiefly with the house

the house of *Palandra*: who albeit they were but countrey people, yet was their number great, and the men (according to the manner of that countrey) practised in armes, and much vsed to bloud. He knew likewise they liued discontented, and by reason that some of their enemies were Magistrates in *Florence*, they had bene euill handled. He knew moreouer the humor of the *Pratesi*, who accounted themselues proudly and hardly gouerned, and had particuler knowledge of the euill disposition of some towards the State. All which things brought him in hope to kindle fire in *Toscana*, by making *Prato* to rebell, whereto so many would put hands, as they that would quench it, should not be able. Then he imparted this matter to *Diotisalui Neroni*, and asked of him, what aide might be by his meanes procured among the Princes, if he should happen to surprize *Prato*. *Diotisalui* thought the enterprife dangerous, and as impossible to take effect: notwithstanding, considering he might thereby with the perill of others make new prooffe of fortune, perswaded him to proceed, and promised to bring him assured aide from *Bologna*, and *Farrara*, so that he were able to defend *Prato* at the least fifteene dayes. *Barnardo* then encouraged with this promise, and conceiuing great hope of happie proceeding, went to *Prato*, and there communicating the matter to diuerse, found them verie willing. The like disposition he perceiued in the familie of *Palandra*, and hauing agreed togithers of the time and manner of the enterprife, *Barnardo* imparted all to *Diotisalui*. At that time, was *Cesare Petrucci*, *Podesta* of *Prato*, for the *Florentines*. The custome was, that the *Podesta* should haue the keies of the towne brought vnto him: And whensoever any of the towne (chiefely in times of no suspition) desired to goe out or come in by night, that fauour was graunted. *Barnardo* knowing this custome, being accompanied with those of the house of *Palandra*, and 100. others armed men, in the morning when the gate towards *Pistoia* should open, presented himselfe: and those whome he had made priuie within, did likewise arme. One of them went to the *Podesta*, saying, a friend of his desired to come into the towne. The *Podesta* not doubting any such accident, sent with him a seruant of his to carrie the keies: from whome, (being a little on the way) the keies were taken, the gates opened, and *Barnardo* with his followers came in. Then they diuided themselues in two parts. The one led by *Saluestro* of *Prato*, tooke possession of the *Cittadell*. The other following *Barnardo*, surprized the Pallace, and committed the *Podesta* with all his familie, to the custodie of one of his companie. Which done, they walked the streets, proclaiming the name of libertie. By that time it was day, and many people by meane of the noise, came to the market place, where vnderstanding that the *Cittadell* and Pallace were taken, the Gouernor also with his familie imprisoned, they meruailed much. The eight Citizens (chiefe Officers of the towne) assembled in their Pallace, to consult what was to be done. But *Barnardo* and his men, hauing awhile walked the towne, and finding himselfe not well followed, hearing where the eight were, went vnto them, declaring that the occasion of his enterprife was to deliuer them and their countrey from bondage: and that they should gaine great glorie to take armes, and accompanie him in that glorious action, whereby they should win perpetuall quiet, and eternall fame. He also laid before them the memorie of their auncient libertie, comparing it with their present condition. He likewise told them what aide they should be assured to haue of others, if they would but for a fewe daies defend themselues from the *Florentine* forces. He informed them moreouer, that he had intelligence in *Florence*, whereby he was aduertised that *Cittie* would wholie follow him. The eight not moued with these perswasions, answered; that they knew not whether *Florence* liued in libertie or bondage, as a thing they desired not to vnderstand. But well they knew their owne desire

was

was not to enioy other libertie, then to obey those Magistrates that gouerned in *Florence*: of whome, they had not receiued any such iniurie, as might moue to take armes against them. Wherefore they perswaded him to restore the *Podesta* to his libertie, lend his men out of the towne, and saue himselfe speedily from that danger, whereinto he was vnaduisedly fallen. These speeches dismaied not *Barnardo*, for he intēded to see if feare might moue the *Pratesi*, to that which with intreaty could not. Therefore to terrifie the Cittizens, and determining to put the *Podesta* to death, he tooke him out of prison, and commanded him to be hanged at the Pallace window. The *Podesta* being brought to the window, the halter vpon his neck, and seeing *Barnardo* to sollicit his death, turned himselfe towards him, and said. *Barnardo*, thou puttest me to death, hoping the rather to be followed of the *Pratesi*, but the contrarie will come to passe. For the reuerence which this people doth beare to the Gouvernors sent by the *Florentines* is so great, that so soone as they shall see this iniurie done to me, they will hate thee, so much, as the same will prooue thy ruine: wherefore not my death, but my life, may be the occasion of thy victorie. For if I commaund them that which thou wouldst haue done, they will more willinglie obey me, then thee. Thus I following thy direction, thou mayst become owner of thy desire. This counsell seemed to *Barnardo* (being a man irresolute) verie reasonable, and therefore willed him at a window to commaund the people to yeeld their obedience to *Barnardo*. Which being done, the *Podesta* was lead back to prison. By this time, the weakenesse of the conspirators was discouered, and many *Florentines* inhabiting that towne, were assembled: among whome, was *Georgio Ginori*, a Knight of *Ierusalem*. He being the first that tooke armes against the Rebels, assaulted *Barnardo* in the streets, sometimes intreating, and sometimes threatning the people to follow him, till at length by *Georgio*, and many others (who tooke armes) *Barnardo* was hurt and taken. Which done, it was no hard matter to deliuer the *Podesta*, and vanquish the rest. For they being fewe, and diuided into sundrie parts of the towne, were welneare all taken or slaine. In the meane space, the fame of this accident was come to *Florence*, and reported to be much greater then it was. For the aduertisements were, that *Prato* was surprized, the *Podesta* with his household put to death, *Pistoia* in armes, and many of the Cittizens of the conspiracie, in so much as many Cittizens sodeinly came to the Pallace to consult with the *Senate*. At that time, *Roberto Sansfuerino* happened to be in *Florence*, who being a man of great experience in warre, was sent with certaine forces to *Prato*, commaunded, that he should approach the towne, and send back particuler aduertisements in what state the same stood; and do there, what by his wisdom should be thought good. *Roberto* marching on his way, and passing the Castle of *Campi*, a messenger came vnto him from *Cesare Petrucci*, declaring, that *Barnardo* was taken, his companions fled, or slaine, and all the tumult pacified. Whereupon *Roberto* returned to *Florence*, and shortly after *Barnardo* being brought thither a prisoner, and demaunded why he tooke that enterprize in hand, answered, bicause he determined rather to die in *Florence*, then liue in exile: and thought good to accompanie his death with some memorable action. This tumult begun and ended (as it were in one instant) the Cittizens of *Florence* returned to their wonted order of life, thinking to enioy that state without suspition, which they had lately established, and settled: whereof insued those inconueniences, which many times be ingendred by peace, for the youth became more prodigall then they were wont, spending their money in apparrell, feasting, and other like vanities, and (being idle) consumed their substance in play, and women. Their whole studie was to be brauely apparrelled, and to seeme wittie, or subtile: for he that could most cunninglie mock and deride others, was holden the wisest

The enter-
prise of Bar-
nardo de-
feated.

wisest and most esteemed. These and such like disorders, were by the Courtiers of *Milan* increased. For at that time, thither came the Duke, with his wife, and Court, to performe (as he said) a certaine vowe, and was there receiued with pompe, meeete for so great a Prince, and friend to the *Florentines*. In that time also, was seene a thing in *Florence*, neuer before vsed, which was, that the Courtiers of *Milan*, notwithstanding the time of Lent, did without respect of the Ecclesiasticall order, eate almost none other meate, but flesh. Albeit the Duke found the Cittie of *Florence* full of courtlie delicacie, and customes contrarie to all well ordered ciuilitie, yet his comming increased the same. Wherefore the good Cittizens thought fit and necessarie to bridle the excesse with new lawes, for apparrell, for funerals, and feasting: In the midst of this great peace, there happened in *Toscana* a new and vnlooked for tumult: In the Prouince of *Volterra*, certaine Cittizens happened to finde a Mine of Allum, whereof, knowing the commoditie, to be helped with money, and defended with authoritie, they ioyned with them some Cittizens of *Florence*, making them partakers of such profit as should thereof arise. This matter at the beginning (as it happeneth for the most part in all new actions) was by the people of *Volterra* little esteemed. But the commoditie thereof afterwards knowne, they desired too late, and without effect, that which at the first they might easilie haue obtained. Then began they to propound the matter in their counsels, saying, it was not conuenient that a commoditie found in the common lands, should be conuerted to a priuate vse. Thereupon, they sent vnto *Florence* certaine Embassadors. The cause was committed to a few Cittizens, who either bicause they were corrupted, or for that they so thought best, gaue sentence, that the request of the people of *Volterra* was not reasonable, bicause they desired to depriue the Cittizens of their labour and industrie, and therefore iudged, that those Alums appertained to priuate men, and not to the Citie. Yet was it conuenient, that those priuate persons should giue yearly vnto the people certaine money, in signe they acknowledged them for superiors. This answer did nothing diminish, but augment the tumults and displeasures in *Volterra*, so that nothing was spoken of so much in their counsels, and in euerie other place in the Cittie, as the request of the multitude, which was, to recouer that which they thought lost. The priuate men on the other side, still laboured to continue that which they had gotten, and had bene confirmed by iudgement of the *Florentines*. This matter remained so long in disputation, that one Cittizen, a man of estimation in that Cittie, called *Pecorino*, with diuerse others that tooke part with him, was slaine, their houses spoiled and burnt. In that furie also, the *Rettori* for the *Florentines* with difficultie escaped. This first tumult being passed, they determined in all haste to send Embassadors to *Florence*, who informed the *Senators*, that if they would obserue their auncient conditions, they would also continue in their auncient obedience. The answer of these messengers was long disputed. *Tomaso Soderini* was of opinion, that it behoued to receiue the *Volterani* with what condition so euer, thinking the time serued not, to kindle a fire so neare hand, that might burne their owne house: for he feared the disposition of the Pope, the power of the King, and mistrusted the *Venetians* friendship and the Dukes, not knowing what fidelitie was in the one, nor what vertue in the other, alleaging that prouerb which saith, *Better a leane peace, then a fat victorie*. Of a contrarie minde was *Lorenzo de Medici*, thinking he had now occasion to make shew of his wisdom and counsell, and the rather being thereto perswaded by those that enuied the authoritie of *Tomaso*. And therefore determined by armes to punish the insolencie of the *Volterani*, affirming, that if they were not corrected, as a memorable example, all others (vpon euerie light occasion) without reuerence or respect, would dare to do the like. This resolution

The Duke of
Milan in
Florence.

Tumults in
Volterra.

lution made, the *Volterani* were answered, that they could not require the keeping of those conditions, which they themselves had broken, and therefore either they should referre themselves to the discretion of the *Senate*, or presently looke for warre. The *Volterani* returned with this answer, prepared for the defence of their towne, and sent to all Princes of *Italy* for aide, but were aided by fewe: for onely the *Sanesi*, and the Lord of *Piombino* did promise to helpe them. The *Florentines* on the other side, iudging that the victorie would be gotten by making of speed, assembled tenne thousand footemen, and two thousand horse, whome vnder the conduct of *Federigo*, Lord of *Vrbino*, they sent into the countrey of *Volterra*: all which, they easily possessed. Then they brought their Camp before the Cittie, which being builded vpon an hill, could not be assaulted, but on that side, where the Church of *S. Alisandro* standeth. The *Volterani* had for their defence entertained a thousand souldiers, or thereabouts, who seeing how brauely the *Florentines* assailed them, fearing they could not defend the towne, were in the seruice slowe, but in doing iniurie to the *Volterani* readie ynough: so that those poore Cittizens were by the enemies assaulted without, and by friends oppressed within. In so much as (dispairing to be saued) thought good to make peace, and for want of better meane, yeelded themselves to the *Florentines* Commissaries: who caused them to open the gates, and the greater part of the armie being entred, they went vnto the Pallace where the *Priori* were, whome they commanded to returne to their houses, and by the way, one of them was by a souldier reuiled and robbed. Of this beginning (for men be more readie to euill then good) grew the destruction and sack of this Cittie, which continued one whole day. The houses were robbed, and the people spoiled, neither did the women and Churches escape, but all souldiers, aswell they that had cowardlie defended the towne, as the others that fought, were partakers of the spoiles. The newes of this victorie, was with much reioycing receiued at *Florence*, for the same was wholie the enterprize of *Lorenzo*, who thereby gained great reputation. And thereupon one of his dearest friends reprooued *Tomaso Soderini* for his counsell, saying vnto him, What say you now, that *Volterra* is taken? To whome, *Tomaso* answered, me thinks it is lost: for if you had taken it by composition, you might haue made profit and suretie thereof; but hauing it by force, in time of warre it will weaken and trouble you, and in time of peace, it will charge and hinder you. In those dayes, the Pope desiring to hold in obedience the townes belonging to the Church, caused *Spoleto* to be sacked: which by meane of inward faction, was rebell'd. After, for the like offence, he besieged the Cittie of *Castello*. In that towne, *Nicholo Vitelli* was Prince. He being in great friendship with *Lorenzo de Medici*, refused not in that necessitie to aide him: yet was that aide not sufficient to defend *Nicholo*, but ynough to sowe the first seeds of enimitie betwixt *Sisto* and the *Medici*, which afterwards brought forth fruite of much mischief: and the same should quickly haue shewed it selfe, had not the death of Frier *Piero*, Cardinall of *Sisto*, happened. For this Cardinall, hauing trauelled about all *Italy*, went also to *Venice* and *Milan* (pretending to honor the marriage of *Hercole*, Marquesse of *Farrara*) to practise with the Princes, and found their disposition towards the *Florentines*. But being returned to *Rome*, he died: not without suspition to haue bene poisoned by the *Venetians*, who feared the greatnesse of *Sisto*, so long as he might be counselled and encouraged by Frier *Piero*. For albeit nature had made this Frier of base blood, and was also bred vp basely in a Monasterie, yet so soone as he had aspired to be Cardinall, there appeared in him so great pride and ambition, as might not onely become a Cardinall, but also seeme fit ynough for any Pope. For he feared not to make a feast in *Rome* with so great charge, as seemed superfluous for any King: for therein

he

Volterra
sacked.

Castello be-
sieged by
Pope Sisto.

he spent more then twentie thousand Florins. Pope *Sisto* bereft of this agent, prosecuted his enterprises more coldly. Notwithstanding, the league being renewed betweene the *Florentines*, the Duke, and *Venetians*, and place left for Pope *Sisto*, and the King, who made an other contract; therein also, leauing places for other Princes to enter, if they would. By this meane, *Italy* became diuided in two factions; for daily betwixt these two leagues, there grew displeasure, as it happened, touching the Ile of *Cipres*, which the King *Ferrando* challenged; and the *Venetians* vsurped, whereupon, the Pope and the King became more willing one of the others friendship. In those daies, *Federigo* Prince of *Vrbino*, was accounted the most excellent Captaine of *Italy*, and had long serued for the *Florentines*. The King and the Pope (to the end our league should not haue the seruice of such a leader) determined to win the good will of *Federigo*. To that end both the Pope and the King desired him to come vnto *Naples*. *Federigo* performed their desire, to the great admiration and displeasure of the *Florentines*, beleeuing it would become of him, as it did to *Giacopo Piccinino*. Yet the contrarie came to passe: for *Federigo* returned from *Naples* and *Romagna* with great honor, and still Generall for their league. Neuerthelesse, the King and Pope ceased not, to sound the disposition of the Lords in *Romagna*, and the *Sanesi*, hoping to make them his friends, and by their meanes, be able to offend the *Florentines*, whome they perceiued by all conuenient waies armed, to incounter their ambition: and hauing lost *Federigo* of *Vrbino*, they entertained *Roberto* of *Rimini*. They also renewed the league with the *Perugini*, and drew thereunto the Lord of *Faenza*. The Pope and King alleaged, that their displeasure to the *Florentines* was, bicause they sought to drawe the *Venetians* from them: and the Pope thought that the Church could not mainteine the reputation thereof, nor the Earle *Girolamo* his state in *Romagna*, if the *Florentines* and *Venetians* were vnited. On the other side, the *Florentines* feared they would be enemies to the *Venetians*, not to win their friendship, but the rather thereby to iniurie them: so as *Italy* liued two yeares in these suspitions, and diuersities of humors, before any tumults were moued. But the first (although but small) happened in *Toscana*. *Braccio* of *Perugia*, a man (as hath heretofore bene often said) of great reputation in the warre, had two sonnes, called *Oddo*, and *Carlo*. This *Carlo* was a child, and *Oddo* was by the inhabitants of the Vale of *Lamona* slaine, as hath bene declared. *Carlo* being attained to age, and able for armes, was for the memorie of his father, and the good hope of himselfe entertained by the *Venetians*, and made among others, a leader for that state. The time of his conduct ended, he refused to serue longer, determining to make prooffe, if with his owne fame, and the reputation of his father, he could recouer his owne countrey of *Perugia*. Where to the *Venetians* easily consented, as they that were wont in alterations to increase their dominion. *Carlo* then came into *Toscana*, and found the enterprise of *Perugia* hard, by reason that the *Perugini* were in league with the *Florentines*, yet desirous that this motion might take some effect worthie memorie, he assaulted the *Sanesi*, alleaging they were debtors of money, due to his father, for seruice done to that state, whereof he required satisfaction: and vpon that demaund, assaulted them with so great furie, as that dominion became disordered. The Citizens of *Siena*, seeing themselues so furiously charged (being readie to suspect the worst of the *Florentines*) thought all was done by their consent. They also complained much to the Pope and the King; and sent Embassadors vnto *Florence*, to expostulate the iniurie, and couertlie alleaged, that without assistance, *Carlo* could not with so great securitie haue offended them. The *Florentines* excused themselues, promising in what sort the Embassadors thought good, they would commaund *Carlo*, nomore to offend the *Sanesi*. Whereof *Carlo* complained, that

Italy diuided
into factions.

Troubles in
Toscana.

Conspiracie
against the
Duke of Mi-
lan.

that they by not aiding him, should lose a great conquest, and he misse the meane, to aspire to much glorie. For in short space he promised them possession of that Cittie, where he found so great cowardice and disorder, as with possibilitie it could not be defended. Then *Carlo* departed from thence, and returned to his old enter-
tainment of the *Venetians*. Albeit the *Sanesi* were by the *Florentines* deliuered from so great danger, yet remained they towards them offended, and iudged their obli-
gacion not to be any thing, hauing saued them from an euill, whereof they had bene the occasion. During that these matters betwixt the King and Pope were handled in *Toscana*, there happened in *Lombardy* an accident of much more moment, and did prognosticate greater euils. There was in *Milan* a Scholemaister, called *Cola* of *Mantoua*, a man well learned, but ambitious, and such a one, as instructed the chiefe children of the Cittie. This *Cola*, either bicause he hated the life and manners of the Duke, or for some other occasion, in all his speeches seemed to disdain those men that liued vnder an euill prince, calling others glorious and happie, whome nature and fortune graunted to be borne, and liue in common-weales. Declaring how all famous men had bene brought vp in common-weales, and not vnder Prin-
ces. For the common-weales (said he) did nourish vertuous men, but Princes did oppresse them: for the one doth cherish vertue, the other doth feare it. The yong men with whome he had gained most familiaritie, were *Giouandrea Lampugnano*, *Carlo Visconti*, and *Girolamo Olgeato*, with them he oftentimes reasoned of the euill nature of the Duke, and their owne misfortune, being gouerned vnder such a one: and at length hee began to be in so great confidence of these yong men, that hee brought them to sweare, that so soone as they attained to mans estate, they would deliuer their countrey from the tirannie of that Prince. These youths perswaded to performe what they had promised, waying therewith all the Dukes behauiour, and the particuler iniuries he had done, did hasten their intent to put the matter in execution. The Duke *Galiazzo* was in his disposition lasciuious and cruell, which two things had made him odious: for it sufficed him not to entice Ladies to dishonor, but he would also take pleasure in publishing the same. Neither was he content to put men to death, but he would also execute them with some cruell manner of torment. He was moreouer slandered, or truely suspected, to haue murdered his owne mother: for hee perswading himselfe not to be Prince (she being present) found meanes to remoue her to *Cremona*, which was the place of her dowrie, and in that iourney she became sodainly sick, and died: and many men iudged her sonne was cause of her death. This Duke, had in matter touching women, dishonored *Carlo*, and *Gerolamo*, and denied *Giouandrea* to haue the possession of the Abbey of *Miramondo*, being graunted vnto him of the Pope, vpon resignation of a kinsman of his. These priuate iniuries increased the desire of the yong men, by reuenge to deliuer their countrey of so great mischiefes: hoping, that if they might murder the Duke, they should be not onely esteemed of the nobilitie, but also of the people followed. Thus determined of the enterprize, they oftentimes met together, and by reason of their auncient familiaritie, no meruaile made of their meeting. Being togithers (to make their minds more prepared for that action) they alwaies talked thereof, and with the sheathes of daggers made for that purpose, one of them in the breast and belly strake the other. Then they deuised of the time and place. In the Castle they thought it not fit to be performed. In hunting they feared it would proue incerteine & perilous. When the Duke walked in the streets for pleasure, they imagined it would be hard, and vnlikely to be done. And at feasts, they doubted the places would not serue. Wherefore they resolued, at some publique pompe and triumph, where they were certaine of his being, to kill him, for thither they might
vnder

under diuerse coulours assemble their friends. They concluded also, that if any of them vpon occasion were by the officers apprehended, the rest should with their swords in the middest of his enemies sleigh him. This happened in the yeare 1476. The feast of Christmas then being at hand (at which time, on *S. Stephens* day; the Duke was wont with great pomp to visit the Church of that holie Martir) they resolved that place and time would best serue for the execution of their intent. The morning of *S. Stephens* day being come, they caused certaine of their most assured friends and seruants to arme themselves, saying, they would go to aide *Giouandrea*, who contrarie to the mind of some his euill willers, would make a conduct for water in a certaine ground of his. They being thus armed, went to the Church, pretending, that they would before their departure, take leaue of the Prince. They procured also diuerse other their friends and kinsfolks, for sundrie considerations to comethither, hoping, that the deed being done, euery one would follow them to performe the rest of the enterprife. And their intent was, (the Duke being slaine) to ioyne with those armed, and goe to that place of the Cittie, where they might more easily raise the people, and perswade them to arme themselves against the Duchesse, and Princes of the State; supposing the people by meanes of the famine wherewith they were then grieved, would easily fauour the enterprife: and vnto the people they determined to giue leaue to spoile the houses of *Ceco Simonetta*, *Giouanni Botti*, and *Francesco Lucani*, all Magistrates of the gouernment, whereby they should be assured of them, and giue the people libertie. This resolution was set downe, and the execution thereof firmly agreed vpon in their minds. *Giouandrea* with the rest met earely in the Church, and there altogithers heard Masse; which being ended, *Giouandrea* turning towards the image of *S. Ambrose*, sayd, O *Ambrose*, Lord of our Cittie, thou knowest our intention, and the end wherefore we will aduenture our selues to so many perils: Be fauourable to this our enterprife, and by fauouring of iustice, shew how greatly iniustice doth displease thee. To the Duke on the other side, before he came to the Church, many signes happened, to prognosticate his death at hand. For the day being come, he put on his priuie armour (as euerie other day for the most part he did) yet sodeinly before he went from his house, either bicause he thought it not sightly, or that it did hurt his bodie, he tooke it off. Then thought he to haue heard Masse in the Castle, but his Chapleine was gone to *S. Steffano*. Then commaunded hee that the Bishop of *Como* should say the Masse, but he alleaged certaine reasonable lets, so the Duke was (as it were by necessitie) occasioned to goe to the Church. But first, he called for his two sonnes, *Giouangalizzo*, and *Hermes*, whome he embraced, and kissed often, as though he had no power to depart from them: yet in the end, he determined to goe; and coming out of the Castle, betwixt the Embassadors of *Farrara* and *Mantoua*, rode to the Temple. The conspirators in the meane while, to giue the lesse suspicion, and keepe them from the cold, were retired into a chamber belonging to the chiefe Priest of the Church, their friend, and vnderstanding that the Duke did come, they came from the chamber into the Church. *Giouandrea* and *Girolamo* placed themselves on the right hand of the Church doore, and *Carlo* on the left hand. Then those that went before the Duke, entered the Church doore, and after the Duke himselfe, inuironed with a greate multitude of people, as it alwaies happeneth, in time of such a princelie pompe. The firste of the Conspirators that went towardes him, were *Lampugnano*, and *Girolamo*. They pretending to make place and roome for the Prince, came hard vnto his person, and assaulted him with short and sharpe daggers, which they had hidden in their sleeues. *Lampugnano* gaue him two woundes, the

The Duke
murdered.

one in the bellie, the other in the throate. *Girolamo* likewise in the throate, and in the brest strake him. *Carlo Visconti* standing neare vnto the doore, and the Duke past him; at such time as his companions gaue the assault, could not hurt him before, but gaue him two other wounds, one on the shoulder, the other in the back: and these fixe wounds were all so sodeinly and speedily giuen, that the Duke was fallen to the ground before any man knewe what the matter meened. Neither could he do, or say any thing that was knowne, but in falling, one onely time he cried, O Ladie helpe me. The Duke thus laid on the ground, the rumor grew great, many swords were drawne out, and (as it hapned in like cases vnlooked for) some fled out of the Church; and some ranne thither, without any certaine knowledge, or occasion of the matter. But those who were next vnto the Duke, seeing him slaine, and knowing the murtherers, pursued them. Of the conspirators, *Giouandrea* intending to get out of the Church; went amongst the women, who being many, and according to their custome set on the ground, was so troubled and staied with their garments, that he was by a Moore (one of the Dukes footmen) ouertaken, and slaine. *Carlo* was likewise by those that were present, killed. But *Girolamo Olgiato* escaped out of the Church, seeing his companions slaine, and not knowing whither to flee, went home, where he could be neither by his father nor brothers receiued. But his mother onely, hauing compassion of her sonne, did recommend him to a Priest, an auncient friend of that house, who put him in Priestlike garments, and remooued him to his house, where he remained two daies, hoping that some tumult in *Milan* would arise, and thereby he might be saued. But that not comming to passe, and fearing to be found there, he assaied to flee disguised; yet being knowne, was brought before the Magistrates, and there he confessed all the order of the conspiracie. This *Girolamo* was twentie three yeares of age, and died with no lesse courage, then he had executed the enterprise. For being brought to his death, stript naked, and prepared for the hangman; who with his knife in hand, stood readie to cut him in pieces, he spake these Laten words, *Mors acerba, fama perpetua, stabit vetus memoria facti*. This enterprise was by these vnhappy yoong men secretly practised, and resolutely executed. The cause of their destruction was, that they were not followed and defended of them, to whome they trusted. Let Princes therefore learne to make themselues so much honored and loued, as no man can hope to hurt them, and saue himselfe. And let all priuate persons know, how vaine it is to thinke, that the multitude (notwithstanding it be discontented) will in their perils follow or accompanie them. This accident amazed all *Italy*; but much more trouble proceeded of other chances, that shortly after happened in *Florence*. For thereby the peace which had continued in *Italy* the space of twelue yeares, was broken, as in the Booke following shall be declared. Which Booke, as it beginneth with bloud and terror, so doth it end with sorrow and miserie.

The ende of the seventh Booke.

THE



THE EIGHT BOOKE.



THE beginning of this Booke, placed amidst two conspiracies, the one in *Milan* already declared, the other happened in *Florence*, and to be spoken of; it may be thought fit, that (according to my custome) I should somewhat saie, touching the quallitie of conspiracies, and of what importance they are. Which willingly I would do, had I not in other places discoursed thereof, or that such a matter might be briefely passed over. But seeing it requireth great consideration, and is already spoken of, we will proceed, and tell how the *Medici*, having overcome all enemies, that openly opposed themselves, being desirous their house alone might have authoritie in the Cittie, it behoued them to oppresse all others that secretly practised against them. For so long as they contended against other families but with equall authoritie, the Citizens enuying their greatnesse, might openly and without feare affront them. Bicause, the Magistrates being free, neither partie before losse of victorie, had any occasion to feare it selfe. But after the victorie, in the yeare 66. the State became so much in the hand and power of the *Medici*, as all men discontented, were enforced, either patiently to abide the condition wherein they liued, or else by way of conspiracie, and secret practise, to amend their fortune. But sith cōspiracies are with difficultie performed, for the most part, they procure the ruine of the conspirators, and the greatnes of him against whom they be conspired. So that, a Prince by conspiracie assaulted, if he be not therein slaine, as was the Duke of *Milan* (which seldome hapneth) becommeth thereby the stronger, and being before good, becommeth euill. Bicause conspiracies do giue him occasion to feare, feare counsaileth him to seeke assurance, and in seeking assurance, he doth iniure others, whereby he gaineth hatred, and many times procureth his own destruction. So as in cōclusion, treasons do sodeinly ouerthrow those who attempt them, and trouble him many times against whome they be attempted. *Italy* was (as hath bene before declared) diuided into two factions, the Pope and the King on the one side, and the *Venetians*, the Duke, and *Florentines* on the other side. And albeit there was not betwixt them any warre moued, yet was there dailie occasion giuen thereof, and the Pope chiefely in all his actions studied to offend the state of *Florence*. *Philippo de Medici* Archbishop of *Pisa*, then dying, the Pope, (contrarie to the will of the *Senate* of *Florence*) gaue that Bishoppricke to *Francesco Saluati*, whome hee knewe to bee enemy to the house of *Medici*. But the *Senate* denying to deliuer possession thereof, there followed great displeasure betwixt the Pope and the *Medici*. Besides that, the Pope did great fauours in *Rome* to the familie of *Pazzi*, and in euerie

Displeasure
betweene the
Pope and the
Medici.

Enimie be-
tweene the
Pazzi, and
Medici.

Conspiracie
against Giuli-
ano, and Lo-
renzo di Me-
dici.

acte, disfaoured the house of *Medici*. In those daies, the house of *Pazzi* liued aboute other the *Florentine* families, in most riches and glorie. The chiefe of them was called *Giacopo*, who for his riches and Nobilitie, was made Knight. He hauing no children but one onely daughter, had for heires diuerse nephews, sonnes of *Piero* and *Antonio* his brethren. The chiefe of whom were *Guglielmo*, *Francesco*, *Rinato*, and *Giouanni*. After them, *Andrea*, *Nicholo*, and *Galeotto*. *Cosimo de Medici* seeing their riches and nobilitie, gaue his neece *Biancha* in marriage to *Guglielmo*, hoping that alliance would make those houses more vnited, and remoue all occasion of displeasures and suspitions, which many times hapned betwixt them. Notwithstanding (so incertaine and fallible are the expectatiōs of men) the matter came otherwise to passe, for those that counselled *Lorenzo*, told him, it was perilous, and contrary to his authoritie, to suffer the Citizens to increase their riches and state: which was the cause that those degrees of honor were not graunted to *Giacopo* and his nephews, which (as other Citizens thought) they deserued. Hereof grew the first displeasure of the *Pazzi*, and the first feare of the *Medici*. The increasing of the one, was cause that the other also increased: in so much as the *Pazzi* in all actions, wher at other Citizens did meete, were not to the Magistrates welcome. Also the officers of eight men, vpon a like occasion (without such respect, as was wont to be borne towards the great Citizens) constrained *Francesco de Pazzi* being at *Rome*, to returne to *Florence*. Whereupon the *Pazzi* in all places with iniurious words, and full of offence complained: which doings, caused others to suspect, & think theselues to be iniured. *Giouanni de Pazzi*, had married the daughter of *Giouanni Barromei* a man of great riches, which riches after his death for want of sonnes, should come vnto her. Neuertheles, *Carlo* his nephew toke possession of part of those goods, and therby the matter being brought to triall and sute, an order was made, by vertue wherof; the wife of *Giouanni de Pazzi* was disinherited, and the possessions giuen to *Carlo*: which iniurie, the *Pazzi* did altogether impute to the *Medici*. Of this matter, *Giuliano de Medici* did many times lament, and complaine to his brother *Lorenzo*, saying, he feared least they desiring too much, should lose all. But *Lorenzo* being full of youth and authoritie, would needs take all vpon him, and make euery man know, that all things were done by him. The *Pazzi* being noble and rich, could not indure so great iniuries, but deuised by what means they might procure reuenge. The first that moued speech against the *Medici*, was *Francesco*. He being of more courage and life then the others, determined to get that which he wanted, or lose that which he had. And bicause the gouernment of *Florence* was hatefull vnto him, he liued for the most part in *Rome*, and there (according to the custome of *Florentine* Merchants) occupied great summes of money. Being also of familer acquaintance with the Earle *Girolamo*, one of them often complained to the other of the *Medici*. In so much as after many consultations, they concluded, that to make the one of them assured of his lands, and the other of his Cittie, it was necessarie to alter the gouernment of *Florence*, which they thought could not be done, without the death of *Giuliano*, and *Lorenzo*. They also supposed, that the Pope and the King, would easily thereto consent, if the facilitie of the enterprise were laid before them. They then thus minded, imparted all their intent to *Francesco Saluiati*, Archbishop of *Pisa*, who being ambitious, and lately iniured by the *Medici*, willinglie condescended. And examining among themselues what was to be done, they agreed (for the more speedie performing of the action) to drawe therinto *Giacopo de Pazzi*, without whome, they thought nothing could be performed. It was then supposed good, that for this purpose *Francesco de Pazzi* should goe to *Florence*, and the Archbishop and the Earle remaine at *Rome*, to sollicite the Pope when need required. *Francesco* being come to *Giacopo*, found

found him more respectiue, and hard to be perswaded, then they would haue him, and aduertising the same to *Rome*, it was thought fit to draw him with more authoritie. Whereupon the Archbishop and the Earle opened all the matter to *Giouanbattista da Montesecco*, one of the Popes Captaines. He being a man of warre well esteemed, was also beholding to the Pope and the King. Neuerthelesse, he iudged the matter hard, full of danger and difficulties, which the Archbishop laboured to remoue, by telling him what aide the Pope and King would giue to the enterprise. Also he alleaged, that the Citizens of *Florence* did hate the *Medici*, and the *Saluiati* and *Pazzi* would help to kill them, which was the more easie to do, by reason they walked in the Cittie vnaccompanied, and without suspect. Therefore if *Giuliano* and *Lorenzo* were dead, the State might easily be changed. All which reasons, *Giouanbattista* beleued not, hearing many *Florentines* affirme the contrarie. While these matters were in consideration, it happened *Carlo* of *Faenza* fell so sick, as euerie man feared his death. It was then thought good to the Archbishop and the Earle, to take occasion to send *Giouanbattista* to *Florence*, and from thence to *Romagna*, vnder pretence to recouer certaine Townes, which the Lord of *Faenza* had taken from them. The Earle therefore commaunded *Giouanbattista* to speake with *Lorenzo*, and in his name desire counsell how the matters of *Romagna* might be handled: after to deale with *Francesco de Pazzi*, and then they together, to perswade *Giacopo di Pazzi* to be of their mind. And bicause he should carrie with him the authoritie of the Pope, they procured him to speake with his holinesse, who offered to further the enterprise with all his power. *Giouanbattista* arriued at *Florence*, went vnto *Lorenzo*, of whome he was curteously receiued, and in all his demaunds wisely and friendly counselled. Whereof *Giouanbattista* meruailed, finding him an other man, then he was reported to be: for he perceiued him to be curteous, wise, and a friend to the Earle: notwithstanding he thought fit to talke with *Francesco*, but (he being gone to *Lucca*) communed with *Giacopo*, whome at the first he found farre from the matter, yet before they parted, with the authoritie of the Pope somewhat moued; and said to *Giouanbattista*, that he should goe into *Romagna*, and in the meane space *Francesco* would be come home: and then more particularly they would reason how all things should be handled. *Giouanbattista* went and returned, and still continued to enterteine *Lorenzo* with his dissimuled busines for the Earle: and after conferred with *Giacopo* and *Francesco de Pazzi*, with whom he perswaded so farre, that they consented to the enterprise. Then they reasoned of the manner how to performe it, and *Giacopo* thought it vnpossible, both the brethren being in *Florence*, and therefore thought best to tarry til *Lorenzo* went to *Rome*, which was thought he would, and then to execute the matter. *Francesco* liked well that *Lorenzo* should goe to *Rome*, but if he did not go thither, yet either at some wedding in the Church, or at the time of some sport, they might be both slaine. And touching forreine aide, he thought the Pope might assemble forces, pretending the enterprise of the Castle of *Montone*, hauing iust occasion to take it frō *Carlo*, bicause he had moued rebellion in the countries belonging to *Siena* and *Perugia*. Yet was nothing fully concluded, but that *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Giouanbattista* should go to *Rome*, and there with the Earle and the Pope determine all things. This matter was againe practised in *Rome*, and in the end a resolution set downe (the enterprise of *Montone* being determined) that *Ciuan Francesco da Tolentino* the Popes souldier, should goe to *Romagna*, and *Lorenzo di Castello* to his countrey, and either of them with their men be readie to do, whatsoeuer by the Archbishop *Saluiati*, & *Francesco de Pazzi* should be comaunded: who, with *Giouanbattista de Montesecco* should go to *Florēce*, and make prouisiō of all things for the execution of the enterprise; whereunto the king *Ferrando* by his Embassador promised

some aide. The Archbishop, and *Francesco de Pazzi* arrived at *Florence*, perswaded vnto the conspiracie *Giacopo di Poggio*, a yong man well learned, but ambitious, & delighting in change. They perswaded also the two *Giacopi Saluiati*, one was brother, the other nephew to the Archbishop. They perswaded likewise *Barnardo Bandini*, and *Napolione* (two valiant yong men borne in *Fraunce*) yet affectionat to the family of *Pazzi*. Of strangers (besides those we haue named) they perswaded *Antonio di Volterra*, and one other called *Steffano*, a Priest, who taught the latin toong to the daughter of *Giacopo*. *Rinato de Pazzi*, being a wise and graue man (and such a one as knew the inconuenients that followed like enterprises) would not consent to the conspiracie, but by all honest meanes he could, impeached the same. The Pope had in the Vniuersitie of *Pisa*, mainteined *Raffaello de Riario* (nephew to the Earle *Girolamo*) to learne the Cannon lawes, where he continued till the Pope aduanced him to the dignitie of Cardinall. The conspirators thought fit to bring this Cardinall to *Florence*, whose coming, should couer the conspiracie, hoping to harbour in his house those conspirators, whom they had need of, and thereby take occasion to performe their intēt. The Cardinall being desired, came, and was by *Giacopo de Pazzi* receiued at *Montughi* his towne, neare vnto *Florēce*. The conspirators desired by his occasion to assemble *Lorenzo* and *Giuliano*, and so to kill them. They found meanes then that they should feast the Cardinall at their towne of *Fiesole*, whither *Giuliano* either by hap or purpose came not, so as that appointment failed. Then determined they to conuite them in *Florence*, whither of necessitie they must come, and so they tooke order to make the feast on Sunday the 26. of Aprill 1478. The conspirators thus determined to murder them at the feast, on Saterday night they met together, to take order for the execution of the murder the next day. The day being come, *Francesco* was aduertised, that *Giuliano* would not be there. For which consideration, the conspirators met againe, and concluded, that it stood them vpon to bring the matter to execution, bicause it was impossibie (being knowne to so many) but it would be reuealed, wherefore they determined to kill him in the Cathedrall Church of *S. Reparata*, where the Cardinall being, both the bretheren (according to their custome) would not faile to be. They ordered, that *Giouanbattista* should take in hand to kill *Lorenzo*, and *Francesco de Pazzi*, with *Barnardo Bandini*, should sley *Giuliano*. *Giouanbattista*, refused to performe his charge, either bicause the curteous vsage of *Lorenzo* had mollified his mind, or else for some other occasion which moued him, said, he durst not commit so great a sinne in the Church, as to execute treason with sacrilege. Which conceit of *Giouanbattista*, was the first ruine of their enterprise; for the time drawing on, they were forced to commit that charge to *Antonio* of *Volterra*, and *Steffano* the Priest: two men, both for experiēce and nature, farre vnfit for that purpose, bicause there is no action which requireth more resolution and constancie of mind, then this. And it behoueth him that should take such a matter in hand, to be a man accustomed to be present at the death of others. For it hath oft bene scene, that some men, vsed to armes and bloud, haue notwithstanding in like cases, let fall their courage. This determination set downe, they agreed that the time of the execution should be at the sacring time of Masse, and in the same instant, the Archbishop *Saluiati*, with *Giacopo*, should take possession of the publique Pallace, to the end that the *Senators* either by consent or force (so soone as the yong men were slaine) should fauour the conspirators. This course being agreed of, they went to the Temple, where they found the Cardinall, and *Lorenzo de Medici*. The Church was full of people, and the seruice begun, but *Giuliano* not come. Wherefore *Francesco de Pazzi*, with *Barnardo* (who had the charge of his death) went vnto his house, and there by intreatie and cunning, perswaded him to come to the Church. And truly it is a thing worthy

worthy memorie, to know how so great hatred would be so covertly kept secret in the minds of *Francesco* & *Barnardo*. For both by the way going to the Church, and in the church, they entertained *Giuliano* with pleasant speech and youthful daliance. Also *Francesco* vnder colour of familiar and friendly curtesie, tooke *Giuliano* in his armes, to feele whether he had on anie armour or garment of defence. *Giuliano* and *Lorenzo* knew well inough they were not beloued of the *Pazzi*, and that they desired to remouethem from their authoritie in the state: yet feared they not their own liues, supposing that whensoever the *Pazzi* would attempt anie enterprife against them, they would do it ciuilly and not by violence. Therefore not mistrusting anie such measure, they likewise feined themselues to be their friends. The murtherers thus prepared, those that were appointed for slaughter of *Lorenzo*, thrust in among the multitude: where they might stand without suspicion. The others, togithers with *Giuliano*, being come to the Church, at the time appointed, *Barnardo Bandini* with a short dagger made for the purpose, stabbed *Giuliano* to the heart, who mouing a step or two, fell to the ground: and vpon him went *Francesco de Pazzi* wounding his bodie in many places so furiously, that he strake himselfe also a great wound in one of his owne legs. *Antonio* and *Steffano* assaulted *Lorenzo*, at whom they strake diuerse times, but hurt him onely a litle in the throate. For either their negligence, his resistance, or the helpe of those that stood by, saued him from further harme. So that the conspirators fled, and hid themselues. But being afterwards founde, they were shamefully put to death, and their bodies drawne through all the streetes of the Citie. *Lorenzo* ioyning with those friends he had about him, retired himselfe into the vesterie of the Temple, and there shut vp the doores. *Barnardo Bandini* seeing *Giuliano* dead, slew also *Francesco Nori* a great friend to the *Medici*, either because hee hated him before, or because *Francesco* had gone about to saue *Giuliano*. Also not content with these two murthers, he went towards *Lorenzo*, hoping by his courage and quicknesse to supplie that, which others for their sloth and cowardice had left vndone. But *Lorenzo* being in the vestry, he could not performe his intent. In the midst of this great and terrible accident (which was such as made all men to feare, that the Church would haue fallen downe) the Cardinall retired to the altar, where he was with great difficultie by the Priests saued, till such time (as the tumult ceased) the Senate could conuey him to his Pallace, and there till his deliuerie, with great feare he remained. At that time there were in *Florence*, certaine Citizens of *Perugia*, who by the factions, (enemies to their houses,) had bene banished. These *Perugini* being promised by the *Pazzi* to be restored to their country, were also of this conspiracie. Whereupon the Archbishop *Saluiati*, (who was gone to surprise the Pallace accompanied with *Giacopo*, the two other *Saluiati*, and other his friends and followers) being come thither, left certaine of them below, charging them, that so soone as they should heare anie noyse, to take possession of the gate, and he with the greater part of the *Perugini* went vp, where he found the Senate at dinner, and was presently let in by *Cesare Petrucci Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*. The Archbishop thus entred with a fewe, leauing the rest without, they of their owne accord went into the Chancery, where they shut themselues in. For the locke of that doore was by such deuise made, as neither within, nor without, could be but with the key opened. The Archbishop in the meane space being with the *Gonfaloniere*, pretending to speake with him of matters by the Popes commandement, began to vtter some speech fearefully, and as though he were amazed. In so much as the alteration of his countenance & words, wrought so great suspicion in the *Gonfaloniere*, that sodeinly he thrust him out of the chamber: and seeing *Giacopo* there also, tooke him by the haire of the head, and deliuered him to the hands of the Serieants. The rest of the Senators perceiuing these tumults,

tumults : with those weapons which were next hand, assaulted the others which were come vp with the Archbishop. Part of them being shut vp, the rest were dismayed, all whom they sodeinly slew, or caused aliue to be cast out of the Pallace window. Of this number, the Archbishop with the other two, *Saluiati* and *Giacopo de Poggio* were hanged. The other conspirators which were left below, had wonne the gate from the guard, and gotten possession of all the lower roomes, so that the Citizens who resorted vnto the Pallace vpon this rumor, could neither with their counsell nor their force assist the *Senators*. In the meane space, *Francesco de Pazzi*, and *Barnardo Bandini* seeing *Lorenzo* escaped, and one of them in whom the chiefe hope of the enterprise depended, to be sore hurt, were therewith dismayed. Whereupon *Barnardo* hoping with that courage to escape, wherewith he had iniured the *Medici*, seeing the enterprise failed, fled away and saued himselfe. *Francesco* being come home to his house hurt, offered to mount on horsebacke (for the order was, that certaine armed men should be placed about the towne, and the people called to libertie and armes) but he could not: So deep was the wound, and so much bloud had he lost. Wherefore he put off all his cloathes, and laide himselfe naked in bed; desiring *Giacopo* that he would performe that which himselfe could not: albeit *Giacopo* were old, and vnpractised in such tumults, yet to make the last prooffe of fortune, mounted on horsebacke, followed with a hundreth horsemen or thereabouts (who were laid readie for the like enterprise) and with those he went to the Market place of the Pallace, calling the people to aide him, and recover their libertie. But the people by the fortune and liberallitie of the *Medici* made deaffe, gaue no eare to helpe him, and the *Florentines* had so much forgotten their libertie, as he receiued no answer at all. Onely the *Senators* (who commaunded the highest place in the Pallace) saluted them with throwing downe of stones, and with threatenings by all wayes they could deuise, terrified them. *Giacopo* standing then doubtfull what to doo, was met by *Giouanni Saristori* his brother in lawe, who first reprooued him and the rest, for the troubles they had begun, and then perswaded him to returne to his house, saying that the welfare of the people, and the libertie, touched other Citizens aswell as him. Thus *Giacopo* voyd of all hope, seeing the *Senators* his enemies; *Lorenzo* aliue, *Francesco* hurt, and himselfe not followed of anie, determined to flee and saue his life, if possibly he could. For which purpose, with that companie which was with him in the Market place, he went out of *Florence* towards *Romagna*. In the meane time all the Citie were in armes, and *Lorenzo di Medici* accompanied with many armed men, returned home to his house. The Pallace was recovered by the people, and all the conspirators taken and slaine. Also throughout the Citie, the name of *Medici* was proclaimed, and the members of the dead men, either carried vpon the pointes of swordes and launces, or drawne through the streets: moreouer euerie man, both by wordes and deedes, irefully and cruelly persecuted the *Pazzi*. Their houses were by the people taken, and *Francesco* (naked as he laie in bed) drawne out and brought to the Pallace, where he was hanged fast by the Archbishop and others his companions. But he would not in any wise, for any iniurie done vnto him by the way, or after, speak any word at all: but looked euery man earnestly in the face, and so without other lamentation tooke leaue of life. *Guglielmo di Pazzi*, brother in lawe to *Lorenzo*) by his owne innocencie and the help of his wife *Bianca*, saued himselfe in his house. There was no Citizen either armed or disarmed, but in that necessitie went vnto *Lorenzo*, offering him their seruice and substance. So great was the fortune and fauour, which that house, by his wisdom and liberallitie had gained. *Rinato de Pazzi*, when this chauce happened, retired to his house in the countrey: where vnderstanding therof, he disguised himselfe and fled. Notwithstanding, being knowne by the way, he

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hee was taken and brought to *Florence*. *Giacopo* in passing the Alpes was also taken. For those mountaine people hearing what had happened in *Florence*, and seeing him fleeing, staid him, and brought him back to *Florence*. Neither could he intreat them to kill him by the way, although he earnestly desired them so to do. *Giacopo* and *Rinato* were brought to their death, foure daies after this accident happened: & among so many murders and executions done all those foure daies, by meanes whereof the streets were filled with dead men; yet was there no compafsion taken of any, but onely of this *Rinato*; because he was accounted a wise man, honest, and free from that pride, whereof the rest of that house were noted. And to the end that this action might proceed for an extraordinarie example, *Giacopo* being buried among his auncestors, was (as a man excommunicate) taken vp, and by the haulter wherewith he was hanged, drawne naked throughout the Citie: and those that drew him, not vouchsafing him a graue, threw his bodie into the riuer of *Arno*. A rare example of fortune, to see a man of so great riches, and happie estate, to fall into so great infelicitie, and be ruined with so much crueltie. Some haue reported him, to be delighted in vices, and that he tooke great pleasure in gaming and swearing, as one that was carelesse and desperate. These vices he couered with liberallitie and almes: for he largely releued many poore men, and gaue momy to places of deuotion. This good also may be said of him, that the night before the Sunday appointed for the murder (to the end no friend should be partaker of his misfortune) hee paid all his debts, and deliuered all the merchandise he had of other mens to the propper owners, with marueilous care and diligence. *Giouanbattista de Montesecco*, after many examinations, was beheaded. *Nappolione* the Frenchman, scaped away, and by that meanes faued himselfe. *Guglielmo de Pazzi*, was banished, and his brother in lawes left aliue, were put in prison in the bottome of the Castle at *Volterra*. The tumults thus pacified, and the conspirators punished, the funerall of *Giuliano* was celebrated with much lamentation of all Citizens: because there was in him so great liberallitie and curtesie, as might be wished in any man borne to like fortune. Of *Giuliano* there remained one sonne, who was borne a fewe moneths after his death, and was called *Giulio*: who became of that vertue and fortune, which at this present all the world knoweth, and I will (when occasion shall be offered if God graunt me life) speake of him at large. Those souldiers which were conducted by *Lorenzo da Castella* in the vale of *Teuere*, and those which serued vnder *Giouanfrancesco da Tolentino* in *Romagna*, were ioyned together to aide the *Pazzi*: and were comming towards *Florence*. But hearing the enterprize was miscarried, they returned backe. And the alteration of the state not being brought to passe (as the Pope and King desired) they determined to do that by open warre, which by secret conspiracie they could not. Then both the one and the other of them, with all possible speede, assembled their forces to assault the state of *Florence*: publishing that they required nothing of that Citie, but that it would remoue *Lorenzo de Medici*, whom among all the *Florentines*, they accounted their onely enemy. The King his souldiers, were already passed *Tronto*, and the Popes forces, arriued in the countrey of *Perugia*. The Pope also intending to make the *Florentines* taste of spirituall affliction, did excommunicate and curse them. The *Florentines* seeing so great forces comming against them, with great care prepared for defence. And *Lorenzo de Medici* (because the warre was said to be made onely against him) desired before all other things, to assemble in the Pallace with the *Senate* all the principall Cittizens, to the number of three hundred or more: vnto whom he spake as followeth. I know not (right noble Lords and magnificent Cittizens) whether I ought lament or reioyce with you, for these matters lately happened. For when I consider with what fraud and despight I was assaulted, and my brother

The Pope
and King
moue warre
against the
Florentines.

The speech of
Lorenzo di
Medici, to the
Florentines.

ther flaine; I cannot but bee sorrie, and with all my heart and soule lament. Yet when I remember with what readinesse, what loue and vniuersall consent of all this Citie, my brothers death was reuenged and I defended, I must of force be glad, and greatly esteeme my selfe. For as experience hath now taught me to know, that I haue more enemies in the Cittie then I thought, so hath it enformed mee, that I had also more earnest and affectionate friends then I looked for. I am then to condole with you for the iniurie of others, and reioyce with you, for your owne merits: yet must my sorrow be the more, because the iniuries were rare, neuer seene, and not of vs deserued. Consider (right noble Cittizens) to what point frowarde fortune had brought our house, that among our friends, our kinsfolks, and in the Church, it was not assured. Such as stand in feare of their liues, were wont to resort to their friends for aide, and flee to their kinsfolk for succour: both whom we found readie armed to our destruction. Such as either mistrusted priuate or publique persecution, haue found refuge in Churches: but the same hauing saued others, hath bin made a place for our murder. For where murderers & theeues haue found refuge, the *Medici* haue met with ministers of their death. But God (who hitherto did neuer abandon our house) hath saued vs, and taken vpon him the defence of our iust cause. For what iniurie haue we done, that might of any man merit so great desire of reuenge? Truly we neuer offended priuately any of these, who haue prooued themselues so much our enemies. For if we had offended them, they should not haue had so great meane to offend vs. Or if they attribute to vs the publique iniuries (whereof I am not priuie) they offend rather you then vs; rather this Pallace, and maiestie of government then our house: seeming that for our cause you do vnderferuedly iniure them, and the rest of your Citizens, which is farré from all troth. For we, though we could, and you (though we would) did neuer consent they should be done. Whosoever doth looke well into the truth, shall finde, that our house hath bene by you, with so vniuersall consent; aduanced for nothing more, then for that it hath studied to excell others in curtesie, liberallitie, and well dooing. If then we haue honoured straungers, how haue we iniured our kinsfolke? If this motion proceeded of desire to gouerne (as it seemeth to do, by taking the Pallace and leading armed men to the Market place) thereby appeareth, how euill, ambitious, and reproouable it is. If it be done, for the mallice and enuie they beare to our authoritie, therein they offend you, not vs to whom you haue giuen it. For surely those authorities deserue hate, which men vsurpe, not those which with curtesie, liberallitie, and magnificence be gained. You know also that our house neuer ascended to any degree of greatnesse, but by order of this Pallace, and your vniuersall graunt. *Cosimo* my graundfather, returned not from exile by force of armes or violence, but by your allowance and consent. My father being aged and sicke, could not defend his authoritie against so many enemies, but you with your authoritie did it. I my selfe after my fathers death (being as it were a childe) haue not maintained the estimation of my house, but by your counsels and fauour. Neither could our house haue gouerned this common-weale, had you not ioyned, and doo ioyne in the government thereof. I cannot therefore imagine, what cause of mallice they haue against vs, or what iust occasion to enuie vs. For sith their owne auncestors with their pride and couetise, haue lost those honours, why should they enuie vs, if by contrarie desert we haue gained them? But admit the iniuries done them by vs be great, and that they iustly desired our ruine, yet why should they offend this Pallace? Why make they leagie with the Pope and King against the libertie of this state? Or why do they disturbe the long peace of *Italy*? Hereof they haue no excuse at all, for they ought to offend those, who offended them; and not mixe priuate displeasures, with publique iniuries: which is the
reason

reason that they being extirped, our miserie is the more. For by their meanes the Pope and King are comming towardes vs in armes : and that warre (they say) to be made onely against me and my house. Which would God were true, because then the remedie is readie and certain. For I am not so bad a Citizen, as to preferre my priuate welfare, before your publique weldoing : but would willingly quench your fire, with my own destruction. Yet sith the iniuries which great men do, be alwaies couered with some pretence lesse dishonest, they haue chosen this quarell, to cloake their shamefull enterprife. But if it so be, that you beleue the contrarie, I am in your hands to be holden, or let loose, as your selues shall thinke best. You are my fathers, you are my defenders, whatsoeuer you commaund, I obey and will performe. Neither will I euer refuse (if it shall please you) to end this warre with my bloud, which by the bloud of my brother hath bene begun. While *Lorenzo* thus spake, the Cittizens could not refraine weeping : and with such compassion as they heard him, he was by one of them, answered, saying ; The Cittie did acknowledge to haue receiued so much good of him and his, as hee might assure himselfe they would be no lesse readie to preferue his reputation and authoritie, then they had bene willing to reuenge his brothers death, and saue his life. And before he should lose either the one or the other, they would hazard the losse of their countrey. And to the end their deeds might be answerable to those words, they appointed a certain number of men to guard his person from doimesticall treasons : and after tooke order for the warre, leuying both men and money by all meanes conuenient. Then by vertue of the league, they sent for aide to the Duke of *Milan* and the *Venetians*. And sith the Pope had shewed himselfe a wolfe and no shepheard, fearing to be deuoured, by all possible meanes they iustified their cause, letting all *Italy* know the treason practised against their state : declaring the wickednesse of the Pope, and his iniustice ; who being by indirect meanes aspired to the Papacie, would also with mallice exercise the same. For he had not onely first sent a Prelate of his to accompanie traytors, and cutthroates to commit murther in the Temple, euen in the time of diuine seruice, and at the instant of celebration of the Sacrament, (and so by the death of the Citizens to change the gouernment, and sacke the Cittie at his pleasure) but had also excommunicated them, and with his papall curses threatned and offended them. Notwithstanding if God were iust, and that the iniuries of men were to him offensive, it could not be, but that the actions of this Pope wereto him displeasing, and would be content that men iniured (not hauing any other refuge) might resort vnto him. Wherefore the *Florentines* did not onely refuse to obey this excommunication, but also the same notwithstanding, inforce their Priests to celebrate diuine seruice. They also assembled a Councell in *Florence*, wherunto all the Prelates of *Toscana* repaired, and appealed from the Pope to the next Councell. On the other side, the Pope wanted not reasons to iustifie his cause : and therefore alleaged it was the office of a chief Bishop, to remoue tyrants, oppresse the wicked, and aduance the good. All which things, it behoued him by all waies to procure. For it was not the office of seculer Princes to imprison Cardinals, hang vp Bishops, to kill, cut in peeces, and drawe the Priests through the streets, murthering both guiltie and vnguiltie people, without respect. Notwithstanding all these quarrels and accusations, the Cardinall (whom the *Florentines* kept prisoner) was released, and sent home to the Pope : which was the cause that the Pope without respect, with all his and the Kings forces, assailed them. And those two armies conducted by *Alfonso*, eldest sonne of *Ferrando* Duke of *Calauria*, and by *Federigo* Earle of *Vrbino* entred *Chianti*, by leaue of the *Sanesi* (who fauoured theemie) and surprized *Radda* with diuerse other Castles, and spoyled the countrey : which done, they encamped at *Castellina*. The *Florentines* seeing these assaults,

The Florentines carelesse of the Popes curse.

The Pope and King assault the Florentines.

assaults, were much afraid, being without men, and slowly aided by friends. For albeit the Duke had sent a supplie, yet the *Venetians* denied they were bound to helpe them in priuate causes. And the warre being against priuate men they were not to aide them; because priuate quarrels are not publicquely to be defended. Wherefore the *Florentines* thought good by Embassadors to periwade the *Venetians* to a better opinion: and sent *Tomaso Soderini* vnto the *Senate*. In the meane space souldiers were entertained, and *Hercole* Marquesse of *Farrara* appointed Generall. While this preparation was in making, the enemy distressed *Castellina*, and the people there despairing of rescue, after fortie daies defence, yeelded. From thence the enemy marched towards *Arezzo*, and laid siege to *Monte S. Souino*. By this time the *Florentine* armie was readie, and being come within three miles, the enemy seemed therewith perplexed. For *Federigo de Urbino* desired truce for a few daies: which was graunted with so great disaduauntage to the *Florentines*, that they who desired it, did much meruaile. For if that request had not bene obtained, they had bene forced to depart with shame. But hauing those daies to repaire them, in the ende of the truce, they tooke that Castle, before the faces of our men. Yet the winter at hand, the enemy to lodge himselfe with more commoditie, retired into the countrey of *Siena*. The *Florentines* likewise bestowed themselues, where with most commoditie they could. And the Marquesse of *Farrara* hauing litle profitted himselfe, and done lesse good to others, returned to his owne. In those daies *Genoua* rebelled from the Duke vpon these considerations. After the death *Galeazzo* (hauing left his sonne yoong and vnfit to gouerne) their grew discention betwixt *Lodouico*, *Octauiano*, and *Ascanio* his vnckles; and the Ladie *Bona* his mother: for euerie of them, desired the tuition of the yong Duke. In which contentions the Ladie *Bona* Duchesse (by counsell of *Tomaso Soderini* Embassador there for the *Florentines*, and *Cecco Simonetti* (who had bene Secretarie to *Galeazzo*) gat the vpper hand. Whereupon the *Sforzi* fled from *Milan*. *Octauiano* flying, was drowned in the Riuer *Adda*: and the others, together with *Roberto* of *Sanseuerino*, were to fundrie places confined; for *Roberto* in those troubles had abandoned the Duches, and ioyned with them. After happened some tumults in *Toscana*, by which new accidents, those Princes hoping of new fortune, euerie of them attempted somewhat, whereby to returne to his country. The King *Ferrando*, who saw that the *Florentines* were in their necessitie, succoured onely by the state of *Milan*, to take also from them that aide, found meanes that the Duchesse should so be set a worke in her country, as of her, they could not be aided. And by *Prospero Adorno*, and the Lord *Roberto* (who were rebelled) found meanes to make *Genoua* reuolt from the Duke. Neuerthelesse the small Castle stood firme; wherunto the Duchesse sent great forces to recouer the Citie: but they were ouerthrowne. Then she seeing the daunger of her sonne and her selfe, by the continuance of that warre, *Toscana* disordered, and the *Florentines* (in whom she onely hoped) afflicted, determined that sith she could not hold *Genoua* as subiect, she would recouer it as a friend. And agreed with *Battistino Fregoso* (enemie to *Prospero Adorno*,) to giue him the little Castle, and make him Prince of *Genoua*, vpon condition, that he would driue out *Prospero*, and disfauiour the *Sforzi*. According to this agreement, *Battistino* with the helpe of the Castle, and his faction, surprized *Genoua*, and according to the custome made himselfe *Doge*. The *Sforzi* then, and the Lord *Roberto*, being driuen out of *Genoua*, went with their followers to *Lunigiana*. Thereupon the Pope and King seeing the troubles of *Lombardy* pacified, tooke occasion by those that were driuen from *Genoua*, to disturbe that part of *Toscana* which is towards *Pisa*. To the ende that the *Florentines* diuiding their forces should become weake: and tooke order that the winter now past, *Roberto* should goe with his forces from *Lunigiana* to assault the

Genoua rebelled from the Duke of Milan.

countrey of *Pisa*. This *Roberto* then moued exceeding great tumult, surprizing and sackling many castles in that country, & spoiling hard to the wals of *Pisa*. At that time arriued in *Florence* Embassadors from the Emperor, the French King, and the King of *Hungary*: sent by those Princes to the Pope. They perswaded the *Florentines* also to send vnto him, promising to make some end of the war, and procure a good peace. The *Florentines* refused not to make this trial, and the rather that therby they should let the world know, they were desirous of peace. These Embassadors dispatched, returned again without any thing done. Whereupon the *Florentines*, to honor themselves by the reputation of the French King (being by the *Italians* partly offended, & partly abandoned) sent vnto him *Donato Acciaiuoli*, a man well learned in the Greek & Latin toongs, & one whose ancestors had alwaies born office in the citie: but being on his way, at *Milan* he died. Then the state to reward his heires, and honor the memory of him being dead, with publike expence honorably buried his bodie, aduancing his sons, and giuing portions of mony to his daughters marriages. In his place, they sent Embassador to the King, *Guidantonio Vespucci*, a man also learned in the Emperial and Papall lawes. The assault of *Roberto* vpon the country of *Pisa*, troubled much the *Florentines*, for being alreadie occupied in a great war towards *Siena*, they saw not how to make prouisiō for *Pisa*. But to hold the *Lucchese* faithfull, and that they should not releue the enemie with mony or victual, sent Embassador vnto them *Piero Capponi* who was (by reason of the auncient hate which that citie beareth to the *Florentines*) receiued with so great suspition, as hee feared many times to haue bene popularly flaine. Insomuch as this iourney did rather breede occasion of new displeasure, then new friendship. The *Florentines* then reuoked the Marquesse of *Farrara*, entertained the Marquesse of *Mantoua*, and with great sute, required of the *Venetians* to haue the Earle *Carlo*, sonne of *Braccio*, and *Deifebo*, sonne of the Earle *Giacopo*. Which request, after many cauillations, was by the *Venetians* graunted. For they hauing made truce with the Turke, had no colour to deny them, and were ashamed to break their promise made to the League. The Earles *Carlo* & *Deifebo*, came with a good number of men at armes, & ioyning to them all other the men of armes they could spare, frō the army which serued vnder the Marques of *Farrara*, against the Duke of *Calauria*, went towards *Pisa* to encounter *Roberto*: who with his men was neare to the riuer of *Serchio*. And albeit he made shew to tarry for our mē, yet did he not, but retired into *Lunigiana*, to those lodgings from whence he came, when he entred into the country of *Pisa*. After his departure, all those towns were recovered by the Earle *Carlo*, which the enimies had before taken in the country of *Pisa*. The *Florentines* deliuered of the enemy towards *Pisa*, caused all their forces to be brought betwixt *Colle* & *S. Gimignano*. But by reason of the Earle *Carlo* his cōming, there were in that camp both the folowers, *Sforza* & *Braccio*: which was the occasiō that (moued with old enuy) they begā to mutiny: & was feared, that if they had bin long together they would haue come to blows. It was therefore thought fit for eschuing a worse mischief, to diuide the soldiers, & send one part of thē into the country of *Perugia*, vnder the Earle *Carlo*: the other to stay at *Piggibonzi*, there to entrench themselves strong, & procure that the enemy should not enter the *Florentines* land. By this actiō they also hoped to cōstrain the enimies to diuide their forces: for they thought either that the Earle *Carlo* should surprize *Perugia*, where they supposed he had many partakers, or that the Pope should be enforced to send great forces to defend it. They practised moreouer (to bring the pope in more necessity) that *Nicolo Vitelli* (being come frō the city of *Castello*, where *Lorenzo* his enemy was chief) should with his mē approach the town, remoue his aduersary, & take it frō the pope. At the beginning it seemed as thogh fortune wold haue fauored the *Florentine* attempts: bicause Earle *Carlo* proceded wel in the cōuntry of *Perugia*.

The Florentines gratefull to their seruants.

The Popes
forces discom-
fited by the
Florentines.

Nicholo Vitelli also, although he entred into *Castello*, yet he and his were strongest in the field, and without any resistance, spoiled about the Citie at his pleasure. Likewise the forces left at *Poggibonzi*, went euery day to the walles of *Siena*. Notwithstanding all these hopes became vaine. First died the Earle *Carlo* in the chiefe hope of his victorie: whose death had bettered the estate of the *Florentines*, if the victorie which grew thereof, had bene well vsed. For so soone as the Earles death was knowne, suddenly the Popes souldiers (who were altogither at *Perugia*) hoped to ouerthrow the *Florentines*: and comming forth into the field, lodged themselues vpon the lage, distant three miles from the enemy. On the other side, *Giacopo Guicciardini* (who was Commissary of that camp) with the counsel of *Roberto da Rimino* (Chieftain after the death of the Earle *Carlo*) knowing the occasion of the enemies pride, determined to staie for them. So as, ioyning battle vppon that lage (where in old time *Anniball* gaue that memorable ouerthrow to the *Romanes*) the Popes forces were broken. Which victory was in *Florence* receiued with commendation of the captaines, & comfort of all others. And the same had proued the honor & profit of the enterprise, if the disorders which grew in the army at *Poggibonzi* had not vndone all. And thus the good successe of the one camp was vtterly marred by the other. For the souldiers of that army hauing gottē a bootie in the country of *Siena*, in the diuisiō thereof, the Marques of *Farrara* & *Mantoua* fell in debate. In somuch as they came to armes, either iniuring the other by all meanes they could. Whereby the *Florentines* finding they could no more imploy them togither, were pleased that the Marques of *Farrara* with his men should be discharged. That army thus weakned & left without a gouernor, proceeding in euery thing disorderly: the Duke of *Calauria* (who was with his camp near to *Siena*) tooke courage to approach, & so did. The *Florentins* seeing theselues likely to be assailed, neither trusted to their force, nor their number, which was greater then the enemies, nor in their place where they were, being of great force: but without respect, euē at sight of the enemy, & the dust, fled; leauing the munitiō, the cariages & artillary. So beastly & cowardly were those camps, whē the charge or retire of one horse, might make the losse, or winning of an enterprise. This discōfit filled the kings souldiers with spoile, & the *Florentines* with feare. For their citie was not onely afflicted with war, but also with pestilence: which was so great, that all the Cittizens to shun death, were retired to their country houses. This ouerthrow was the more terrible, because those Cittizens who had land in the vales of *Pisa* & *Delsa*, being come thither, (the ouerthrow performed) with all possible speed returned to *Florence*, leading with them not only their children & goods, but also their labourers. For euerie hour it was feared, the enemy would present himself before the citie. The officers for the war, seeing this disorder, commanded those forces which were victorious in the country of *Perugia*, to surcease their enterprise against the *Perugini*, & come to the vale of *Delsa*, to encounter the enemy there: who after the victory, did without resistance spoile the country. And albeit they had so greatly distressed the citie of *Perugia*, as they might euerie hour looke for victorie, yet the *Florentines* resolved rather to defend their own, thē take from others. Thus that army remoued from the place of happy successe, was brought to *S. Cassiano*, a Castle distant frō *Florence* 8. miles: thinking they could not staie in any other place, till such time as the broken Camp were supplied. The enemies on the other side at *Perugia* being free by the departure of the *Florentine* souldiers, become audacious, did daily take great booties in the countries of *Arezzo* & *Cortona*: and the others who had victory vnder *Alfonso* Duke of *Calauria* at *Poggibonzi*, got the possessiō first of *Poggibonzi*, & then of *Vico*, & sacked *Certaldo*. Hauing won these towns, & cōmitted these spoils, they incamped before the castle of *Colle*, which in those daies was accounted a place of great strength, and the people

of that country, being faithfull to the *Florentines*, were of force sufficient to hold the enemy off, till the armie was assembled. The *Florentines* then hauing gathered all their forces at *S. Casciano*, and the enemies furiously besieging *Colle*, determined to draw neare vnto them, to encourage their friendes to defend themselues: supposing also that the enemy wold offend with more respect, for hauing his aduersary at hand. This resolution set downe, they remoued the Campe from *S. Casciano*, and brought it to *S. Giminiano*, within fiue myles of *Colle*: from whence with light horses and other suddaine meanes, they daily molested the Dukes Camp. Notwithstanding, this supplie sufficed not those of *Colle*: for wanting necessarie prouision, on the thirteenth day of Nouember they yeelded, to the great griefe of the *Florentines*, and the ioy of the enemies: and chiefly of the *Sanesi*, who besides their hate to the *Florentines*, beare also priuate grudge to the *Collegiani*. By this time the winter was great, and the season vnfit for warre, so that the Pope and King (either because they would giue hope of peace, or that they desired to enioy the passed victorie quietly) offered to the *Florentines* truce for three moneths, and gaue them ten dayes respite to make answer: which was presently accepted. But as a wounde when the bloud therein groweth colde, griueth the bodie more, then when it was receiued, so this small rest, caused the *Florentines* to knowe the trauailes they had endured: and the Cittizens without respect accused one an other, of the errors committed in the last warre, for the charges in vaine spent, and the Impositions vniustly put vpon them. Which matters were not only spoken of among priuate men, but the same was also boldly propounded in the Councils. And one of them tooke courage, turning his face towards *Lorenzo de Medici*, sayd vnto him. This Citie is wearied, and refuseth to haue longer warre. It behoueth therefore that we deuise which way to make peace. Then *Lorenzo* knowing the necessitie, consulted with those friends whom he knew most faithfull and wise, and concluded (first perceiuing the *Venetians* coldnesse and inconstancie, the Dukes infancy and trouble of ciuill warres) that it was necessarie with new friends to seeke new fortune. Yet stood they doubtfull whether they were best trust vnto the Pope, or the King. The matter being well examined, they preferred the Kings friendship as most stable and sure. Because the shortnesse of the Popes liues, the change of their succession, the small feare which the Church hath of Pinces, and the fewe respects which it vseth in resolution, are the causes why a seculer Prince cannot assuredly trust vnto a Pope, nor safely passe one fortune with him. For whosoever is friend vnto the Pope in warres and daungers, shall be by him accompanied in the victorie, but in aduersities left alone: because the Pope is by spirituall power and reputation, supported and defended. This resolution made, that to gaine the Kings friendship was best: they thought the same by no meane better procured, nor with more assurance, then by the presence of *Lorenzo*. For the more liberallitie were vsed to him, the more they thought he would forget former displeasures. *Lorenzo* determined vpon this iourney, reaccomended the Citie and state vnto *Tomaso Soderini*, then *Gonfaloniere di Giustitia*, and in the beginning of December he departed from *Florence*: and being arriued at *Pisa*, wrote vnto the *Senate* the occasion of his departure; and the *Senate* to honor him, and that he might with more reputation conclude the peace with the King, made him Embassador for the people of *Florence*, with full authoritie to proceed, as by his discretion should be thought good. In the meane time *Roberto da San Seuerino*, together with *Lodouico* and *Ascanio* (for their third brother *Octauiano Sforza* was dead) assaulted againe the State of *Milan*, desirous to winne the gouernment thereof. And hauing surprized *Tortona*, *Milan* also with the whole countrey was in armes. Then the Duchesse *Bona* was counselled to

The Florentines seeke the King Ferrando his fauour.

Lorenzo de Medici, Embassador for the Florentines.

Antonio Tassino.

Lodouico Sforza, Governour of the Duke of Milan.

Lorenzo de Medici arrived at Naples

admit the *Sforzi* into the State, and by that meane appease the ciuill discention. The chief of those Counsellors, was *Antonio Tassino* of *Farrara*: who being bachelery born, came to *Milan*, and was by the Duke *Galeazzo* and the Duchesse receiued to serue in their chamber. He either for the bewtie of his person, or for some other secret vertue, after the death of the Duke, aspired to so great fauour with the Duchesse, as almost alone hee gouerned the state: which greatly displeased *Cecco*, being a man both for learning and long experience excellent. So as he both to the Duchesse and others, laboured to decrease the credit of *Tassino*. Wherof *Tassino* being aware, to be reuenged, & haue ayd at hand to defend him from *Cecco*, perswaded the Duchesse to receiue home the *Sforzi*: which she did without making *Cecco* priuie. But *Cecco* after knowing thereof, saide vnto her; Madame, you haue made a resolution which will take my life from mee, and the state from you: As shortly after came to passe. For *Cecco* was by the *Lodouico* put to death: and *Tassino*, within a short space (being driuen out of the Duchie) the Duchesse tooke therat so great offence, that she went from *Milan*, and renounced the gouernment of her sonne vnto *Lodouico*. Thus *Lodouico* become onely gouernour of *Milan*, was (as shall be declared) the occasion of the ruine of *Italy*. *Lorenzo de Medici* was now on his way towardes *Naples*, and the peace betwixt the enemies in communication: when beyond all expectation *Lodouico Fregoso* hauing practised with some *Serezanasi*, by stealth entered with armed men into *Serezana*, taking possession of that Towne, and imprisoned those that gouerned then for the *Florentines*. This accident greatly offended the princes of the *Florentine* state, who thought the matter was brought to passe by direction of the king *Ferrando*. And complained to the Duke of *Calauria* (who was at the Campe before *Siena*) saying they were notwithstanding the truce, assaulted with newe warre. He both by Letters, Embassages, and euerie other way, declared the same was done without the consent of his father. The *Florentines* neuertheless thought themselues in hard estate, wanting money; the chiefe of their Common-weale in the Kings hand: A new warre moued by the *Genouesi*, and without friendes. For in the *Venetians* they trusted not: and feared leaste the gouernement of *Milan* was vnassured. Their onely hope was vpon that which *Lorenzo de Medici* was to conclude with the King. *Lorenzo* arriued at *Naples* by sea, was there both by the King and all that Cittie, honourable and with great expectation receiued. Because so great a warre being made onely to oppresse him, his enemies thereby did make him more great. For being come to the Kings presence, hee debated with him the estate of *Italy*, the humors of princes and people thereof, and what might be hoped of the peace, and feared by the warre. Which the King hearing, grew into more admiration, to finde in him so noble a minde, so readie a wit, and so great a iudgement, then that he could endure so long a warre. In so much as the King doubled the honours before done vnto him, and beganne to deuise rather how hee might winne him for a friend, then continue him an enemy. Notwithstanding for diuerse causes hee entertained him from December till Marche, not onely to make the more triall of him, but also of his Cittie. For *Lorenzo* wanted not enemies in *Florence*, who desired that the King would haue holden him, and entertained *Giacopo Piccino*: and vnder colour of lamenting, they speake their mindes. Also in publique Councelles, they opposed their opinions against *Lorenzo*. By these deuises; It was bruted, that if the King would keepe *Lorenzo* long at *Naples*, the gouernment in *Florence* should be chaunged. Whiche was the onely cause that the King deferred his dispatch so long, hoping there might some tumult arise in *Florence*. But seeing that all thinges passed quietly, on the sixt day of March, in the

the yeare 1479. he had leaue to depart, and before his departure was by the King so bountifully presented, & louingly vsed, that betwixt *Lorenzo* & the King their grew a perpetual amity, & preservation of both their states. Thus *Lorenzo* returned to *Florence* with greater reputation & honor then he went thence, & was with so great ioy of the citie receiued, as his great vertues & new merits deserued: hauing put his own life in hazard to recouer peace to his country. For within two daies after his arriual, the treaty betwixt the common weale of *Florence* & the King was proclaimed, whereby they were both bound to defend one the others country: & that the townes taken frō the *Florentines* in the war, shuld be by the King restored. And that the *Pazzi* imprisoned in the town of *Volterra*, shuld be deliuered. And that mony should be for a certaine time paide vnto the Duke of *Calauria*. This peace being published, did much offend the Pope & the *Venetians*, because the Pope thought he was litle esteemed of the King, & the *Venetians* as litle regarded of the *Florentines*: who being their companions in the war, thought themselves il vsed, not to be partakers of the peace. This indignation vnderstood and beleeued at *Florence*, did sodeinly breed suspicion in euerie man, that of the peace wold arise a greater war. Whereupon the Magistrates of the state, determined to restraine the gouernment, and that the affaires of most importance should be reduced into the hands of a lesse number: and so ordeined a Councell of 70. Citizens, with authoritie that they might proceed in matters of most importance. This new ordinance staied the minds of those that desired innouation, and to giue thereto countenance, first of all they accepted the peace, which *Lorenzo* had made with the King, and sent vnto the Pope *Antonio Ridolphi*, and *Piero Nasi*. Neuertheles *Alfonso* Duke of *Calauria*, did not remoue his army from *Siena*, saying he was staied by the discord of the citizens there, which was so great, that he being lodged without the citie was called in and made iudge of their differents. The Duke taking these occasions, punished many of those citizens in mony, imprisoning & banishing others, and some also were iudged to death. In so much as by this meanes he became suspected not only to the *Sanesi*, but the *Florentines* also mistrusted he would make himself Prince of that citie. Whereof they knew no remedy, cōsidering the new friendship of *Florence* with the King, & the enmitie of the Pope & King. Which suspicion, not only in the people of *Florence* generally (who mistrustfully cōsider of all things) but in the chief gouernors of the state, appeared: euerie man imagining, that our citie had neuer bin in so great danger to lose the liberty therof. But God who had euer a particuler care therof, caused an accident to happē vnlooked for, which made the King, the Pope, & the *Venetians*, to think of greater matters thē these of *Toscana*. *Mahumetto* great Turk, was with a mighty army gone to the Isle of *Rodi*, & had many months assaulted it. But notwithstanding his forces were great, and his resolution to win the town greater, yet was the vertue of those that defended the same, greatest of all. For *Mahumetto* notwithstanding his furious assaults, was forced to depart with shame. This the Turk being departed frō *Rodi*, part of his army cōducted by *Saccometto Bascia*, went towards *Velona*, & by the way, either for that he saw the enterprise easie, or because the Turk had so commanded, passed by the coast of *Italy*, & sodeinly set 4000. men on land, who assaulted the citie of *Otranto*, tooke it, sacked it, & slew all the inhabitants therof: which done, by all the best means he could, fortified both the citie, & the hauē. Thē sent he for horsmen, & with them he foraged, & spoiled the cōuntry round about. The king seeing this assault, & knowing how great a prince had takē that enterprise in hād, sent vnto al places to signify the same, & desired aid of thē al, against the cōmon enemy. Also speedily reuoked the Duke of *Calauria* with his forces frō *Siena*. This assault, thogh it grieved the duke & the rest of *Italy*, yet did the same cōfort *Florēce* & *Siena*. One hoping therby to recouer liberty, th'other trusting

Peace and
league be-
twene the
King & the
Florentines.

The Isle of
Rodi assaul-
ted by the
Turkes.

The Turks
landed in I-
taly.

the rather to shun those perils, which made them to feare the losse of their libertie. Which opinion was encreased by the vnwilling departure, and lamentation of the Duke, at his going from *Siena*, accusing fortune, that she by an vnlooked for and vnreasonable accident, had taken frō him the dominion of *Toscana*. The selfsame chance did alter the Popes mind: for where before, he refused to giue audience to all *Florentines*, he was now become so curteous, as he refused not to hear any that wold speak vnto him of the vniuersal peace. Whereupon the *Florentines* were aduertised, that if they would desire pardon of the Pope, they might obtaine it. It was then thought good, not to omit this occasion: and 12. Embassadors were sent to the Pope, who being arriued at *Rome*, were by his holinesse before they had audience, entertained with diuers practises. In the end it was betweene the parties concluded, how either of them should afterwards liue, & in what sort either of them both in peace and war, wereto make contribution. After this conclusion, the Embassadors were admitted to present themselues at the Popes seete: and he sitting in the midst of his Cardinals, with exceeding great pomp, receiued them. These Embassadors excused all matters passed, sometimes blaming necessitie, sometimes the euil disposition of others, sometimes the populer furie, and the iust offence thereof, saying they were most vnhappy, being forced either to fight, or die. And because all things are endured to eschue death, they had suffred war, excommunicatiōs, & all other troubles, which the matters passed had brought with thē. And all to the end, that their common weale might auoyd bondage, which is the death of all free Cities. Neuertheles if any error or enforced fault were committed, they were ready to make satisfaction: euer hoping in his goodnes, (who following the examples of the almightie Redeemer) he would receiue them, rather for his mercie, then their merits. To which excuses, the Pope answered with great pride and anger; reprouing them of all things done against the church; notwithstanding for Gods sake, he was pleased to grant them the pardō they desired: yet therewith affirming they were to obey him, & if they shal faile of obedience, their libertie which now should haue bin lost, shall then be iustly taken from thē. For they deserue libertie, who take in hand good actions, & not they that in euil enterprises employ themselues. Because libertie abused, offendeth it self and others. Also to esteem God litle, & the church lesse, is not the office of good mē, but of vain persons, enclined to euil. The correction of whō apperteineth not onely to Princes, but to euery christian: so as they were for matters passed to blame their own euil doings, which was the first occasion of war, & by their worse doings it was norished. But all anger was now extinguished, rather by the goodnes of others, thē their own deserts. After publication of the peace, the Popes blessing was read. Whereunto his holinesse by word of mouth added, that if they would enioy the benifit of his benediction, they should during the Turks war in the kingdom, maintein at their charge 15. gallies wel paid. The Embassadors complained much of this burdē imposed ouer and aboue the contract. Yet by no meanes they could make, or by any lamentation they vsed, the Pope would diminish any part of that penance. But the Embassadors being returned to *Florence*, the *Senate* for confirmation of this peace, sent Embassador to the Pope, *Guidantonio Vespucci*, who was lately ariued frō *France*. He by his wisdom brought all matters vnto reasonable termes, & obtained many fauours of the Pope, which was a token of greater reconciliatiō. The *Florentines* hauing ended their buisines with the Pope, and *Siena* with themselues being deliuered from feare of the King by the departure of the Duke of *Calauria*, and the Turkes warre continuing, constrained the King to restore all the Castles which the Duke of *Calauria* at his departure left in the handes of the *Sanesi*. Wherby that King hoped, that the *Florentines* in so great necessitie would not shrinckē from him, or by moouing of warre
against

The speech of
the Florentine
Embassadors
to the Pope.

The Popes
answere.

against the *Sanesi*, impeach the aide which hee hoped of from the Pope and other *Italian* Princes. And therefore was content that the Castles should be restored, and bound the *Florentines* by a new obligation. So as thereby we see, that force and necessitie, but not writings or obligations, do make Princes to obserue their faith. The Castles thus receiued, and the new confederacie made, *Lorenzo di Medici* recouered that reputation, which the warre first and after the peace (when the King was feared) had taken from him. For there wanted not those that openly flandered him, and said, that for sauing himselfe, he had sould his countrey, and that by the warre they lost their townes, and by the peace they should lose their libertie. But the townes recouered an honorable peace made with the King, and the Cittie returned to the auncient reputation. For in *Florence* (a Cittie free of speech, and therein matters iudged by their successe, and not by counsell) the case was altered, and *Lorenzo* commended to the skies, euerie man saying, that he with his wisdom had found meanes to recouer that by peace, which euill fortune had taken from them in warre: and that his counsell and iudgement, had preuailed more then the enemies armes, or their money. The assault of the Turks had deferred that warre, which by offence of the Pope and *Venetians* would haue bene moued. But as the beginning of that assault was vnlooked for, and occasion of much good, so was the end thereof vnlooked for, and the cause of much euill: for *Mahumetto* great Turke, beyond all expectation died, and discord growing betwixt his sonnes, those Turks that were in *Puglia*, being abandoned of their Lord, by composition yeelded *Otranto* to the King. This feare remoued, which held the Pope and *Venetians* firme, euery man doubted new tumults. On the one side, the Pope and the *Venetians* were in league, and with them the *Genouesi*, *Sanesi*, and other lesse Potentates. On the other, were the *Florentines*, the King, and the Duke, with whome, the *Bolognesi*, and many other Lords ioyned. The *Venetians* desired to become Lords of *Farrara*, supposing they had reasonable occasion to begin that enterprize, and certaine hope to performe it. The occasion was, bicause the Marquesse affirmed, he was no longer bound to receiue the *Visdomine* and their salte, bicause the contract was, that after seauentie yeares, the Cittie should be disburthened of those charges. The *Venetians* to the contrarie answered, that so long as he did hold the *Polesine*, so long he ought to receiue the *Visdomine* and the salte. But the Marquesse not consenting thereto, the *Venetians* thought they had iust occasion to take armes, and time fit for the same, seeing the Pope much offended with the *Florentines* and the King, whose fauour they hoped the rather to haue, bicause the Earle *Girrolamo* being at *Venice*, was there receiued most honorable: and the *Venetians* bestowed on him the title of a Gentleman of that state, which is the greatest token of honor, which they will, or can giue. They had also for preparation of the warres, imposed a new Subsidie, and chosen *Roberto de Sanseuerino* for their Generall: who being offended with *Lodouico*, Governour of *Milan*, was fled to *Tortona*, and there hauing made some tumults, went to *Genoua*; from thence he was called by the *Venetians*, and made Chieftaine of their armie. These preparations and new motions being knowne to those of the contrarie league, was the cause that they also prepared for the warre. The Duke of *Milan* made *Federigo* Lord of *Vrbino*, his Generall, and the *Florentines* *Costanzo de Pefaro*. Also, to sound the disposition of the Pope, and to discover whether the *Venetians* with his consent did make the warre against *Farrara*, the King *Ferrando* sent *Alfonso* Duke of *Calauria*, with his armie to the riuer of *Tronto*, and there desired leaue of the Pope to passe into *Lombardy* to aide the Marquesse, which was by the Pope vterly denied. Whereupon, the King, and the *Florentines*, being resolved, thought to constraine him by force, so as thereby he should

New leagues
in Italy.

should either become their friend, or at the least, they would so trouble him, as he could not be able to aide the *Venetians*: for they were in the field, and had alreadie begun the warre with the *Marquesse*; spoyled his countreys, and besieged *Figarolo*, a Castle of much importance, for the countrey of that Prince. Thus the King and the *Florentines* determined to assaile the Pope. *Alfonso* Duke of *Calauria* spoiled the countrey towards *Rome*, and with aide of the *Colonna*, who were on his side (bicause the *Orsini* were ioyned with the Pope) did great dammage to that countrey on the other side of *Rome*. The *Florentines* on the other side vnder *Nicholo Vitelli*, assaulted the Cittie of *Castello*, surprized it, and draue out *Lorenzò*, who kept that Castle for the Pope, and *Nicholo* remained a Prince thereof. By these actions, the Pope was greatlie distressed, bicause *Rome* within the Cittie was troubled with factions, and the countrey without spoiled by enemies. Notwithstanding, as a man of courage, he would not giue place to the enemy, but entertained *Roberto da Rimino*, and calling him to *Rome*, where all his men of warre were assembled, told him, how great honor he might win, if he could against the force of a King, deliuer the Church from those troubles wherewith it was occupied: and how great obligation he should thereby haue not onely of him, but also of all other Popes his successors, and that both God and men would reacquite the same. *Roberto* first viewing the Popes men of armes, and other his preparations, perswaded him to make all the footmen he was able, which with all speed and diligence was performed. By this time the Duke of *Calauria* was neare vnto *Rome*, and spoiled the countrey euen to the walls of the Cittie, which offended the people so much, as many of them voluntarily offered themselues to serue with *Roberto*, and recouer the libertie of *Rome*: who were all by that Lord thanked and receiued. The Duke hearing of these preparations, retired a little from the Cittie, thinking, that if he were further off, *Roberto* would not seeke him; and he also looked, that *Federigo* his brother, should come with fresh men, sent from the King their father. *Roberto* seeing himselfe equall with the Duke for men of armes, and in footmen aboue him, marched out of *Rome* without order, and lodged his Camp within two miles of the enemy. The Duke seeing his enemies at hand, not looking for them, thought it stood him vpon, either to fight or flee. Wherefore as constrained, and for not doing a thing vnworthie the sonne of a King, determined to fight, and turning his face to the enemy, either camp put their men in order, and brought them to battell, which continued from the morning till noone; and the same was performed with more vertue, then any had bene in *Italy* fiftie yeares before; for therein were slaine on both sides more then a thousand men, and the end was glorious to the Church. For the great multitude of the Popes footmen, so much offended the Dukes horsemen, as they were forced to turne their backs: and the Dukes person had bene taken prisoner, had he not bene saued by many Turks, who were left at *Otranto*, and serued vnder him. *Roberto* hauing this victorie, returned to *Rome* with triumph: which he enjoyed not long, for that by drinking of much water at the day of battell, he fell into a fluxe, which within fewe dayes brought him to death. His bodie was by the Pope, with great honor buried. The Pope hauing this victorie, sent the Earle presently towards the Cittie of *Castello*, to see that towne restored vnto *Lorenzo*; and besides to prooue, how the Cittie of *Rimino* was enclined. For after the death of *Roberto*, (who had onely one yong sonne, and the Cittie left to the gouernment of his mother) the Pope imagined it was easie for him to surprize it. And in deed it would haue so come to passe, had not that woman bene by the *Florentines* defended, who tooke her part with such forces, as the enemy could not worke his will, either against *Castello*, or *Rimino*. While these matters were a doing in *Romagna* and *Rome*, the *Venetians* had surprized

Figarolo,

The Duke of
Calauria dis-
comfited by
the Pope.

Figarolo, and with their men had passed the Riuer of *Po*, and in the Duke of *Milan* his campe, and the Marquesse also, there was disorder, bicause *Federigo*, Earle of *Urbino*, being sick, caused himselfe to be carried to take phisick at *Bologna*, and there died: whereby the affaires of the Marquesse proceeded slowlie, and the *Venetians* hoped dailie more and more to surprize *Farrara*. On the other side, the King and the *Florentines* laboured to make the Pope of their side, which not brought to passe by armes, they threatned by a Generall Councell to make him yeeld, which Councell, was by the Emperours commaundement, appointed at *Baselia*: whereupon, by perswasion of the Emperours Embassador at *Rome*, and the chiefe Cardinals, who desired peace, the Pope was perswaded and constrained to allow of peace, and the vnitng of *Italy*. Then the Pope for feare, and also for that he found the greatnesse of the *Venetians* to be the ruine of the Church and all *Italy*, resolved to come into the league, and sent his *Nuncio* to *Naples*, where a league was concluded for five New leagues
in Italy. yeares, betwixt the Pope, the King, the Duke of *Milan*, and the *Florentines*, reseruing a place for the *Venetians*, if they were pleased to enter. This done, the Pope commaunded the *Venetians* to surcease the warre of *Farrara*, which they not onely refused to do, but also made the preparation greater: and hauing already broken the Dukes and Marquesse forces at *Argenta*, they at *Farrara* were so neare distressed, as the Dukes forces were lodged in the Marquesse Park. Then the League thought good no longer to deferre the aiding of that Prince, and caused the Duke of *Calauria* with his and the Popes men to goe to *Farrara*. The *Florentines* likewise sent all their forces thither, and for the better ordering of the warre, the League appointed a Councell to be holden at *Cremona*, where the Popes Legat, the Earle *Girolamo*, the Duke of *Calauria*, the Lord *Lodouico*, *Lorenzo de Medici*, with many other Princes of *Italy* met. In this Councell, the Princes deuised the order of the future warre. And bicause they iudged that *Farrara* could not be better relieued any way, then by some braue assault, they ordered that *Lodouico* should begin a warre vpon the *Venetians*, for the countreys belonging to the Duke of *Milan*. But thereunto that Lord would not consent, fearing to begin a warre which he could not end at his pleasure. Wherefore it was determined they should go with all their footmen to *Farrara*, and with foure thousand men of armes, and eight thousand footmen, assault the *Venetians*, who had two thousand and two hundred men of armes, and sixe thousand footmen. And the League thought good first to assaile the nauie which the *Venetians* had lying vpon the riuer of *Po*, and the same being assaulted, was broken at *Bondeno*, with the losse of two hundred vessels, and *Antonio Iustiniano*, the Proueditor of the nauie was taken. Then the *Venetians*, seeing all *Italy* vnited against them, to win some reputation, entertained the Duke of the *Rhene* with two thousand men of armes. But hauing receiued this ouerthrow of their nauie, they sent this Duke with part of their armie to frunt the enemy, and commaunded *Roberto de Sanseuerino*, with the rest of their camp, to passe the riuer of *Adda*, and approaching to *Milan*, to proclaime the name of the Duke, and of the Ladie *Bona* his mother: for by that meanes, they hoped to make some Innouation in the Cittie, supposing that the Lord *Lodouico* and his gouernment was hated. This assault at the beginning brought therewith some terror, and moued all the Cittie to take armes: but in the end, it wrought an effect contrarie to the *Venetians* expectation. Bicause *Lodouico* in respect of this iniurie, was content to allow of that which before he would not. And therefore, leauing the Marquesse of *Farrara* to the defence of his owne countrey, he with foure thousand horse, and two thousand footmen, and the Duke of *Calauria* with twelue thousand horse, and five thousand footmen, entred the countrey of *Pergamo*, *Brescia*, and *Verona*, spoiling almost all the countrey belonging to those
three

three Citties, before the *Venetians* knew thereof, for the Lord *Roberto* with his souldiers, could scarcely defend that Cittie. On the other side, the Marquesse of *Farrara* had recouered a great part of his possessions, by meane whereof, the Duke of the *Rhene* who came against him, was not able to make head, hauing onely two thousand horse, and one thousand footmen. Thus all that summer, in the yeare 1483, the League proceeded in their warrés most prosperously. The next Spring being come (for in all the winter was nothing done) the armies were againe brought to the field, and the League, (to the end it might the more speedily oppresse the *Venetians*) had ioined all the whole army together: but if they had proceeded as they did the yeare before, they should assuredly haue taken from the *Venetians*, all the lands in *Lombardy* to them belonging: for they had not left vnto them, more then sixe thousand horse, and five thousand footmen. And on the other side, were twelue thousand horse, and sixe thousand footmen. Also the Duke of the *Rhene* hauing ended the yeare of his enterainment, was returned home. Notwithstanding (as it often happeneth) where diuerse Governours be of equall authoritie, there groweth diuision, and the enemie winneth victorie, so *Federigo Gonzaga*, Marquesse of *Mantoua*, being dead (who with his authoritie continued the Duke of *Calauria*, and the Lord *Lodonico* vnited) betwixt them grew diuersitie of opinions, and ielousie. For *Giouangaliazzo* Duke of *Milan* being attained to age, and abilitie to gouerne his owne state, and hauing also married the daughter of the Duke of *Calauria*, the Duke desired, that his sonne in lawe, and not *Lodonico*, might gouerne the state. This suspition of *Lodonico* being knowne to the *Venetians*, was made by them an occasion, supposing they might as they had euer done, reconer by peace, that which they had lost by warre: and secretly they practised a pacification betwixt them and *Lodonico*, which was concluded in August, the yeare 1484. That being knowne to the other confederates, displeased them much, chiefly when they knew, that all the townes taken from the *Venetians* should be restored, and they still to inioy also *Rouigo*, and *Policene*, which townes they had taken from the Marquesse of *Farrara*. And moreouer, that they should haue againe all those prerogatiues which in times passed they had. Euerie man then thought, they had made a warre with great charge, and as therein they had gained small honor, so in the end it was compounded with shame: bicause the townes taken, were restored, and the townes lost, were not recouered. Yet were the confederates forced to accept the peace, being wearie of charges, and fearing the ambition and defects of others, would make no more triall of their fortune. While in *Lombardy* matters were in this manner handled, the Pope by meane of *Lorenzo* besieged the Cittie of *Castello*, to driue from thence *Nicholo Vitelli*, (who, to drawe the Pope into the league) had forsaken him. In this siege, those that within the towne were partakers with *Nicholo*, came forth to fight with the enemies, and did vanquish them; whereupon, the Pope reuoked the Earle *Girolamo* from *Lombardy*, to repaire his force at *Rome*: that done, to returne to his enterprise. But afterwards, thinking it better to gaine the good will of *Nicholo* by peace, then to assaile him with a new warre, grew to agreement with him, and by all meanes reconciled him to *Lorenzo* his aduersarie: whereupon, he was allured rather by suspition of new tumults, then by the loue he bare his countrey. For betwixt the *Colonnese* and *Orsini*, there appeared much displeasure: bicause the King of *Naples* in the warre betwixt him and the Pope, had taken from *Orsini* the Earledome of *Tagliacozzo*, and giuen it to the *Colonnese* his followers. Afterwards, the peace being made betwixt the King and the Pope, the *Orsini* by vertue thereof demaunded restitution. The Pope often signified to the *Colonnese*, that they ought to make restitution, but they, neither at the intreatie of the *Orsini*, nor for the threatning of
the

Castello besieged by the Pope.

the Pope, would agree thereunto, but still with iniuries, and spoiling of the *Orsini*, did displeasure them, which the Pope could not indure: and therefore assembled all his forces, and ioyning with them the *Orsini*, sacked all the houses of the *Colonna* in *Rome*, slaying and taking all those that made resistance, and razing the most part of all their Castles: so that those tumults were ended not by peace, but by oppressing one of the parties. Also *Genoua* and *Toscana* were somewhat disquieted, for the *Florentines* did keepe the Earle *Antonio de Marciano* with his souldiers, vpon the confines of *Serezana*, who during the warre of *Lombardy*, with foraging, and small skirmishes, molested the *Serezanesi*. And in *Genoua*, *Battistino Fregoso* Duke of that Cittie, trusting vnto *Pagolo Frigoso* Archbishop, was by him taken, with his wife and children, and the Archbishop made Duke. Likewise, the *Venetian* nauie had assaulted the Kingdome, surprized *Galipoli*, and molested other places thereabouts. But the peace of *Lombardy* concluded, all tumults did cease, saue onely in *Toscana* and *Rome*: for the Pope within five daies after the peace was proclaimed, died: either bicause the end of his life was come, or for sorrow that a peace was made to his disadvantage. This Pope at his death left *Italy* in peace, though during his life he had alwaies therein made warre: and the *Romanes* presentlie after his departure tooke armes. The Earle *Girolamo* with his souldiers retired vnder the Castle, and the *Orsini* did feare, least the *Colonnese* would be reuenged of the fresh iniuries done them. Then the *Colonnese* demaunded againe their houses and Castles. Vpon these occasions, within few daies there followed many murthers, robberies, and burnings in diuerse parts of the Cittie. But the Cardinals hauing perswaded the Earle to yeeld that Castle vnto the Colledge, and returne home to his owne land, and also remoue his souldiers out of *Rome*, he being desirous to gratifie the next Pope, gaue vp the Castle to the Colledge, and went himselfe vnto *Imola*. Whereupon the Cardinals deliuered of this feare, and the Barons out of hope to be aided by the Earle in their quarrels, went to the creation of a new Pope. After some disputation, and diuersitie of opinions, *Giouanbattista Cibo*, borne in *Genoua*, and Cardinall of *Malfetta*, was chosen Pope, by the name of *Innocentio octauo*. He through the curtesie of his nature (being a quiet and peaceable man) procured all armes to be laid downe, and for the present, pacified *Rome*. The *Florentines* after the peace, could not content themselves with rest, being perswaded it was shame, and dishonor, that a priuate Gentleman had taken from them the Castle of *Serezana*. And bicause the capitulations were, that it was lawfull to demaund all things taken, and if they were not restored, to make warre against the withholder, they resolued speedily to prepare money and men to performe that enterprise. Then *Agostino Fregoso*, who had surprized *Serezana*, being perswaded that at his priuate charge he could not mainteine so great a warre, gaue that towne to *S. George*. And sithens we are to make mention diuersẽ times of *S. George*, and the *Genouesi*, it seemeth not amisse to declare the orders and customes of that Cittie, being one of the principall states of *Italy*. The peace made betwixt the *Genouesi* and *Venetians* (after the greatest warre, that was seene in many yeares past) the State not being able to pay those Citizens who had lent great summes of money, appointed their reuenues of the *Dogana*, to be paid vnto them, till such time as the principall debts were discharged. And for their meeting together, they appointed the Pallace ouer the *Dogana*. These creditors among themselves ordined a forme of government, appointing a Councell of a hundred, and a Senate of eight Citizens, which officers as heads of the Cittie, might dispatch all affaires. The debts were diuided into parts, which they called *Luoghi*, and intituled the whole corporation of *S. Georgeo*. This government thus established, euer happened new necessities, whereupon they resorted to *S. George* for new aide: who being

The Colonnese oppressed by the Pope.

The first creation of *S. George* in *Genoua*.

rich

riche and well ordered, could easily serue their turnes. And the commualtie on the other side, hauing graūted the *Dogana*, began for pawne of the moneys, to giue their lands: yea, the matter went so farre (by reason of the common necessities and seruices of *S. George*) that vnder gouernment thereof, the greater part of the Townes, Citties, and Lands of *Genoua*, doe now belong to *S. George*, who doth gouerne and defend them. Also euery yeare by publique suffrage, officers be appointed without any intermedling of the Commualtie. Hereof it proceedeth, that those Citizens haue no regard of the common profit, as a thing tirannized, and set their whole care vpon *S. George*, as well and equally gouerned: whereof do arise the easie and often alterations of the State, and that the people do otherwhiles yeeld their obedience to some of their owne Citizens, and sometimes to a Stranger: for not *S. George*, but the Commualtie doth alter in gouernment: which was the cause that whē the *Adorni & Fregosi* contending for the principallitie did fight, the commualtie only, and the greater part of the citizēs stood neutrall, and yeelded to the victoriotis. Neither doth the office of *S. George* other, then whensoever any man hath taken the gouernment, it sweareth him to obserue the lawes thereof, which to this day are not changed. For *S. George* hauing in possession the armes, the money, and the gouernment, cannot without the danger of a certaine rebellion, be altered. A rare order surely, and not found by the Philosophers amōg their imagined or visible Cōmonweales, to see within one circle, and among one number of Citizens, libertie, and tirannie, ciuill life, and corruption, iustice and licentiousnes: which order onely mainteineth that towne full of auncient and venerable customes. And if it should happen (which in time will assuredly come to passe) that *S. George* shall be owner of all the Citie, that State will be more notable, then the *Venetian* Commonweale. To this *S. George*, *Agostino Fregoso* gaue *Serezana*, who receiued it willingly, and taking in hand the defence thereof, presently prepared a nauie by sea, and sent certaine forces to *Pietrasanta*, to impeach all those that resorted to the *Florentine* Camp, then neare vnto *Serezana*. On the other side, the *Florentines* desired to take *Pietrasanta*, as a towne needfull to be had for the winning of *Serezana*: for being betwixt it and *Pisa*, they could not besiege it so long as by the *Pietrasantesi*, or others therein, they were impeached in the siege of *Serezana*. To bring this enterprise to passe, they sent from *Pisa* to the Camp, a great quantitie of munition and victuall, slenderly garded: to the end that they of *Pietrasanta* should feare the lesse, and in hope of a good bootie, to assault them. The matter was then followed according to expectation: For the souldiers in *Pietrasanta*, seeing before their eyes so great a bootie, tooke it, which gaue the *Florentines* iust occasion to execute the enterprise: wherefore leauing *Serezana*, they besieged *Pietrasanta*, which was well manned, and brauely defended. The *Florentines* hauing their artillerie in the plaine, made a bulwarke vpon the mountaine, hoping from thence to batter it. *Giacopo Guicciardino* was Commissarie of the *Florentine* forces. And while they besieged *Pietrasanta*, the nauie of *Genoua* tooke and burnt the fortresse of *Vada*: and setting some of their souldiers a land, spoiled the countrey thereabout. Against whome, *Buongianni Gianfiliazzi*, was sent with certaine footmen, who partly stayed their pride, so as they durst no longer spoile at their pleasures. Yet the nauie continuing to molest the *Florentines*, went vnto *Liuorno*, and with certaine instruments, approched *Torre Nuoua*, battering it diuerse dayes with artillerie, but seeing nothing done to their aduantage, returned back with shame. In the meane space, *Pietrasanta* was coldly assaulted: whereupon, the enemies tooke hart, assaulted the Bulwarke, and tooke it: which was so greatly to their reputation, and the *Florentines* feare, as they were readie to breake vp the Campe. In so much as they retired foure miles from the towne, and the officers of the Camp thought

Warre betweene the Genouesi and the Florentines.

thought good, that the moneth of October being come, it was time to lodge the army, and deferre that siege till the next Spring. This disorder being knowne in *Florence*, made the Magistrates much offended, and therefore to repaire the Camp in force and reputation, made choise of new Commissaries, *Antonio Pucci*, and *Bernardo del Nero*, who with great summes of money went vnto the Camp, and declared to the Captaines the indignation of the *Senate* and the people, and how great a shame it should be, vnlesse the army did againe returne to the siege: for it were an infamie, so great a Camp, to be repulsed by so small a guard, and so weake a towne. They also shewed the present and future commoditie that would insue of that victorie. Which perswasion, moued the souldiers to returne to the walls, and first of all to recouer the Bulwarke. For the performance whereof, they knowing how much curtesie, affabilitie, and good vsage might do to incourage the minds of men, *Antonio Pucci*, by comforting, promising, and imbracing the souldiers, procured the Bulwarke to be assaulted so furiously, as euen in a sodeine it was taken, yet not without losse: for in that assault, the Earle *Antonio de Marciano* with a peece of artillerie, was slaine. This victorie terrified those of the towne so much, as they began to offer composition: whereupon, to the end the conclusion might be made with the more reputation, *Lorenzo di Medici* thought good to come to the Camp, and within a few daies after his arriual, the Castle was yeelded. The winter now come, the Captaines liked not to proceed further in the warre, but attend the Spring: and therather, bicause the Autumne past, by meanes of euill aires, sicknes was brought into the Camp, wherewith many of the Captaines and leaders were diseased. Among whome, *Antonio Pucci*, and *Bonzianni Gianfigliuzzi*, were not onely sick, but also dead, to the great grieffe of all the army: so great was the honor and loie that *Pucci* had wonne in the exploite of *Pietrasanta*. After the taking of *Pietrasanta*, the *Lucchesi* sent Embassadors to *Florence*, to demaund that towne, as a thing belonging to their common-weale. For they alleaged, that among other things it was contracted betwixt them, that the towne first wonne by any of them, should be restored to the auncient owner. The *Florentines* directlie denied not that couenant, but answered, that they doubted whether in the peace made betwixt them and the *Genouesi*, it was meant the towne to be deliuered, and therefore they could not till then determine: and if it were restored, then the *Lucchesi* ought of necessitie to pay the charge, and make satisfaction, for the losse of so many great Citizens: which if they would do, they might hope to haue it againe. All that winter was spent, in the communication of this peace betwixt the *Genouesi*, and the *Florentines*. And by reason the Pope was a doer therein, the matter was handled at *Rome*: but not being concluded, the *Florentines* would the next Spring haue assaulted *Serezana*, had they not bene by the sicknesse of *Lorenzo di Medici*, and the warre which grew betwixt the Pope, and the King *Ferrando*, impeached. For *Lorenzo* was not onely diseased of the gowt, which infirmitie, seemed to discend from his father, but was also so griuouuslie tormented with grieffe of the stomack, that he went vnto the Bathes to be cured: but the warre was the chiefe occasion of his sicknesse, and the originall thereof. The Citie of *Aquila* was subiect to the King of *Naples*, yet the people therein liued as free. In this Citie, the Earle *Montorio* had great reputation. The Duke of *Calauria* with his men of armes being neare vnto *Tronto*, pretending to pacifie certaine tumults among the people of that countrey, and intending to reduce *Aquila* wholie vnder the Kings obedience, sent for the Earle *Montorio*, as though he would imploy him in those matters he made shew of. The Earle without suspicion came, and was presently by the Duke sent to *Naples* prisoner. These newes being aduertised to *Aquila*, altered the minde of the Cittie, and the people popularly

Pietrasanta
taken.

Aquila rebel-
led from the
K. of *Naples*.

The Pope
defendeth the
rebels of A-
quila.

Peace be-
tweene the
K. of Naples,
and the Pope.
1486.

Lorenzo di
Medici his
daughter,
married vnto
the Popes
sonne.

pulerly tooke armes, and slewe *Antonio Concinello*, Commissarie for the King, and with him certaine other Citizens, who were knowne affectionate to the King. Also, to the end the *Aquilani* might haue some friend to defend them in their rebellion, they displaid the Ensigne of the Church, and sent Embassadors to giue the Cittie to the Pope: desiring him, as his owne subiects, to defend them from the tyrannie of the King. The Pope manfully tooke in hand their defence, as one that both for priuate and publique occasion hated the King. And *Roberto da Sanseuerino*, enemy to the State of *Milan*, hapning to be out of pay, the Pope entertained him for Generall, and caused him with great expedition to come vnto *Rome*: and besides that, sollicited all the friends and kinsmen of the Earle *Montorio*, to become Rebels to the King; in so much as the Princes of *Altemura*, *Salerno*, & *Bisignano*, tooke armes against him. The King seeing himselfe by so sodeine a warre assaulted, prayed aide of the *Florentines*, and the Duke of *Milan*. The *Florentines* stood doubtfull what to do, bicause it seemed hard to leaue their owne enterprise for others: and to take armes against the Church, was perilous. Notwithstanding, being in league, they preferred fidelitie, before commoditie or perill, and entertained the *Orsini*, and sent all their owne men towards *Rome* to the aide of the King, vnder conduct of the Earle of *Pitigliano*. Then the King made two camps, and sent the one towards *Rome*, vnder the Duke of *Calauria*, who with the *Florentines* should incounter the Popes army. The other camp himselfe did leade, and marched toward the Barons that rebelled. This warre with variable fortune was mannged, and at the end, the King in all places hauing aduantage, by mediation of the Embassadors of *Spayne*, a peace was concluded in the moneth of August 1486. whereunto the Pope (being beaten with euill fortune, and loth to aduenture more) consented. Also, all the Potentates of *Italy* were included (onely the *Genouesi*, as rebels to the State of *Milan*, and vsurpers of the *Florentines* lands) were left out. *Roberto da Sanseuerino*, the peace made, hauing bene in this warre no faithfull friend to the Pope, and nothing terrible to the enemy, departed from *Rome*, as driuen out by the Pope: and being followed by the Dukes and *Florentine* souldiers, so soone as he had passed *Cesena*, seeing himselfe not followed, fled away, and with lesse then one hundred horse, came to *Rauenna*. Of the rest of his men, some were receiued by the Duke, and some by the countrey people, were cut in pieces. The King hauing made peace, and reconciled his Barons, put to death *Giouanni Coppola*, and *Antonello de Anuersa*, with his sonnes, and those which had in the warre reuealed his secrets vnto the Pope. By meanes of this warre, the Pope knew what readinesse and care the *Florentines* had to keepe friendship: and therefore, albeit that for the loue of the *Genouesi*, and the aiding of the King, he before hated them, yet now he began to loue them, and shew more fauour vnto their Embassadors then he was wont. Which disposition knowne to *Lorenzo de Medici*, was by all honorable meanes increased: for he thought it much for his reputation, if to the fauour which the King bare him, he might also ioyne the Popes friendship. This Pope had one sonne called *Francesco*, and being desirous to honor him with lands and friends, wherewith he might after his death, mainteine himselfe, he knewe not any in *Italy* with whome he could more safely be matched, then with *Lorenzo*: and therefore so handled the matter, that *Lorenzo* married a daughter of his vnto *Francesco*. This marriage being made, the Pope desired that the *Genouesi* might by composition deliuer *Serezana* to the *Florentines*: perswading them, that they should not hold that which *Agostino* had sold, nor *Agostino* could giue vnto *S. George* that, which was not his. Notwithstanding, this perswasion tooke no effect. But the *Genouesi* while these matters were practising at *Rome*, armed certaine of their Ships, and before the *Florentines* knew any thing thereof, set three thousand footmen

footmen a land, and assaulted the Castle of *Serezanello*, neare vnto *Serezana*, belonging to the *Florentines*, spoyling and burning the Towne: which done, they planted their Artillarie against the Castle, and with all diligence battered the same. This new assault was vnlooked for of the *Florentines*, neuerthelesse presently they assaulted their forces at *Pisa*, vnder *Virginio Orsino*. They also complained vnto the Pope, that whilest he practised the peace, the *Genouesi* had begunne this warre. They sent likewise *Piero Corcini* to *Lucca*, to continue the amitie with that Citie: and *Pagolantonio Soderini*, was sent vnto *Venice*, to feele the disposition of that state. They praied aide also of the King, and of the Lord *Lodouico Sforza*: but failed thereof at both their handes. For the King saide hee feared the Turkes Nauie, and *Lodouico* vnder other cauillations deferred to send anie. Thus the *Florentines* (being for the most part left alone in their warres) did not finde anie so readie to helpe them, as they were readie to aide others. Neither were they dismaied being now abandoned by their confederates (which was no new thing) but assembling a great armie vnder *Giacopo Guicciardini*, and *Piero Vittori*, sent them against the enemye, who lodged one night vpon the Riuer *Magra*. In the meane time, *Serezanello* was straightly distressed by the enemye, who by vndermining and euerie other meanes, besieged it. In so much as our Commissaries marched towardes the reliefe thereof. Yet the enemye refused not to fight, but ioyning battle with the Commissaries, the *Genouesi* were ouerthrowne: and *Lodouico Fiesco*, with many other Captaines of the enemyes were taken prisoners. This victory discouraged not so much the *Serezanesi*, that they would therefore yeeld, but with more obstinacie they prepared for defence: and the *Florentine* Commissaries still continued to offend them. In so much as that towne was both manfully assaulted, and stoutly defended. This siege continuing long, caused *Lorenzo di Medici* to go himselfe into the field. He being come thither, greatly encouraged our souldiers, and discouraged the *Serezanesi*. For they seeing the resolution of the *Florentines* to distresse them, and the coldnesse of the *Genouesi* to relieue them, freely, and without conditions, yeelded themselues to the *Florentines* hands. And were all receiued to mercie, excepting a fewe who had bin the authors of the rebellion. *Lodouico* during this siege, had sent his men of armes to *Pontremoli*, seeming to haue aided vs. But hauing intelligence with some in *Genoua*, that faction tooke armes against those that gouerned, and with the aide of these forces, deliuered that Citie to the Duke of *Milan*. At that time the *Almanes* had mooued a war against the *Venetians*, and *Boccolino de Osimo* in *La Marca*, caused the towne of *Osimo* to rebell against the Pope, and made himselfe Prince thereof. He, after many accidents, at the perswasion of *Lorenzo di Medici*, was contented to deliuer that Citie againe vnto the Pope, and went himselfe to *Florence*, where vnder the protection of *Lorenzo*, he liued long in great honour. After he went from thence to *Milan*, where not finding the like fidelitie, was by *Lodouico* put to death. The *Venetians* assaulted by the *Almanes*, were neare vnto the Citie of *Trento* broken, and *Roberto da Sanseuerino* their Generall, slaine. After which losse, the *Venetians* (according to the order of their fortune) made peace with the *Almanes*, not as victored, but as victorious) so honourable was the conclusion for their state. In those dayes also there happened in *Romagna*, tumults of great importance. *Francesco de Orso* of *Furli*, was a man of great authoritie in that Citie. He being suspected to the Earle *Girolamo*, was many times by the Earle threatned. Whereupon *Francesco* liuing in great feare, was perswaded by his friends and kinsmen, to prevent the mischief. And sith he feared to be slaine by the Earle, was aduised to sley him first: and so by the death of another, escape his owne daunger. This resolution made, hee appointed the time for performing the enterprise, the Market day at *Furli*: for many of his country friends

The Genouesi
assaulted by
the Florentines.

The Genouesi
discomfited.

The Venetians
broken,
and their
Generall slaine.

Tumults in
Romagna.

The Earle
G.rolamo
murdered.

The Earles
wife reuen-
ged.

Galeotto,
Lord of Faen-
za murdered.

comming then thither, he thought to haue their aide without sending for them. This conspiracie hapned in the moneth of May, in which time (and all the sommer) the *Italians* do vse to sup by day-light. The conspirators thought the fittest instant to commit this murther, should be immediatly after supper, when all his familie were at meate, and he left almost alone in his chamber. Thus determined, and that houre appointed, *Francesco* went vnto the Earles house, and leauing his companions in the Hall, himselfe went vp to the Chamber, where the Earle was, and said to one of his men, that he desired to speake with the Earle. *Francesco* being called in, entertained the Earle awhile with some feined speech, and so sodeinly slew him. Then he called vnto him his companions, and slew also the Earles man. By chance the Captaine of the towne also came in the meane time to speake with the Earle, and being arriued in the Hall, followed with a fewe, was likewise slaine by those that came to murther the Earle. These murthers executed, the Earles bodie was cast out of the window: and the murtherers proclayming the Church and libertie, caused all the people to arme, who hated greatly the couetise and crueltie of the Earle. The conspirators hauing sacked the Earles houses, tooke the Countesse *Caterina* his wife, with all her children. Then remained onely the Castle (which being surprized) should happilie finish the enterprise. But thereunto the Captaine would not consent: Neuerthelesse, this Countesse promised to deliuer it, if she were let loose to goe into the Castle, and for hostages of her promise, she left with the enemyes her children. The conspirators believed her words, and gaue her leaue to depart. But so soone as she was within the Castle, she looked ouer the walls, and threatned the enemyes to be reuenged of her husbands death. Then they threatning to sley all her children, answered, that she had meane to beget others. The conspirators dismaied, seeing they were not aided by the Pope, and hearing that the Lord *Lodouico*, Vnkle to the Countesse, did send men in her aide, taking vp all the goods they could carrie awaie, went vnto the Cittie of *Castello*, whereby the Countesse recouered her state, and reuenged her husbands death by all manner of cruelties. The *Florentines* vnderstanding the Earles death, tooke occasion to repoesse the fortresse of *Piancaldoli*, which the Earle had before taken from them: for sending thither their forces, they surprized it, and slew therein *Ciccio*, the famous Architture. To this tumult of *Romagna*, followed one other of no lesse moment. *Galeotto* Lord of *Faenza*, tooke to wife the daughter of *Giouan Bentiuogli*, Prince of *Bologna*. She either for ielousie, or bicause her husband vsed her not well, either else through her owne euil nature, hated him so much, as she determined to take from him his principallitie and life. Then dissembling a sicknesse, laid her selfe in bed, and when *Galeotto* should come to visit her, she determined he should be by certaine men hidden in the Chamber, slaine. Of this intent, she had made her father priuie, who hoped by the death of his sonne in lawe, to become Lord of *Faenza*. The time destined for this murther being come, *Galeotto* repaired to his wiues Chamber, as he was woont, and hauing alittle talked with her, the murtherers came foorth, and without anie mercie, there presentlie slew him. So soone as the murther was knowne, great tumults arose. His wife, with one little sonne, called *Astore*, fled to the Castle. The people tooke armes, and *Giouan Bentiuogli*, together with a Captaine of *Milan*, called *Bergamino*, prepared for the purpose, with many armed men entred into *Faenza*, where was also *Antonio Bascoli*, a Florentine Commissarie. All these leaders assembled, and reasoning of the gouernment of that towne. The men of the Vale of *Lamona* (who were come populerly to the rumor) assaulted *Giouanni*, and *Bergamino*, sleying the one, and taking the other prisoner. Then they proclaymed the name of *Astore*, and the *Florentines*, reaccomending the Cittie to the
Florentine

Florentine Commisaries. This chance knowne at *Florence*, griued euery man much: notwithstanding they caused *Giouanni* and his daughter to be set at libertie, and the tuition of *Astore*, by consent of the people was giuen vnto them. Besides these, diuerse other tumults happened in *Romagna*, *la Marca*, and *Siena*: after the warres were compounded betwixt the greater Princes; which being of lesse importance, I iudge superfluous to report. True it is, that the troubles of *Siena* (after the departure of the Duke of *Calauria* in the yeare 88.) were more in number: and after many alterations, sometimes the people gouerned, and sometimes the nobilitie, but in the end, the nobilitie was victorious. Among whom, *Pandolfo* and *Giacopo Petruccio*, were of most authoritie. The one for his wisdom, the other for courage, became as Lords of that Citie. But the *Florentines* after the warre of *Serezana*, till the yeare 1492. (at which time *Lorenzo de Medici* died) did liue in great felicitie. For *Lorenzo* hauing by his wisdom appeased the armes of *Italy*, endeouored to make himselfe and his Citie great; and married his eldest sonne *Piero* to *Alfonsina*, the daughter of *Cauallier Orsino*: and *Giouanni* his second sonne, was aduanced to the dignitie of Cardinall. Which honor was the more notable, because at the time of his calling to that honour, he passed not the age of foureteene yeares: which was the way to make his house (as after it came to passe) to be exalted to the skies. For *Giuliano* his third sonne, by reason of his yong age, and the small time *Lorenzo* liued, he could not provide anie extraordinarie fortune. Of his daughters he married one to *Giacopo Saluiati*, an other to *Francesco Cibo*; the third, to *Piero Ridolfi*: the fourth (whom he bestowed to hold his house vnited) was wedded to *Giouandi Medici*, but she died. In his other priuate affaires, and chiefly in marchandize he was verie infortunate. For by the disorder of his ministers (who liued liker Princes, then priuate men) a great part of his substance in sundrie places was consumed: enforced thereby to borrow great summes of his countrey. Afterwards, not to runne in daunger of like fortune, leauing marchandize, he employed himselfe in the purchase of lands: as riches of more assurance. In the countries of *Pisa*, *Prato*, and in the vale of *Pesa*, he compassed possessions both for profit and magnificence of houses, more fit for a King then a priuate person. After that time, he enlarged and bewtified his owne Citie, to the end he might liue therein with the more quiet, and securitie. And therefore in many voide places hee built newe houses and streetes: whereby the Citie became more bewtifull and large. Also to the end hee might rest the more assured at home, and encounter his enemies farre of: towards *Bologna* in the midsts of the *Alpes*, he fortified the Castle of *Firenzuola*. Towards *Siena*, he began to reedifie *Poggio Imperiale*, and make it exceeding strong. Towards *Genoua* by winning of *Pietrasanta* and *Serezana*, hee shut that passage vp against the enemies. Moreouer, by giuing pensions, and prouisions, he made friends, the *Baglioni* in *Perugia*, the *Vitelli* in the Citie of *Castello*, and in *Faenza*, he had particuler gouernment. All which things were as Bulwarkes to defend *Florence*. In times of peace, he feasted the Citie, making many times triumphs, Iusts, and publike shewes. For his intent was to keepe the Citie plentifull, the people vnited, and the nobilitie in honour. He greatly esteemed men that excelled in any Art. He also fauoured learned men, as *Agnolo da Montepulciano*, *Christofero Landini*, and *Demetrio Greco*, can beare witness. In somuch as the Earle *Giouanni di Mirandola* (a man accounted almost diuine) forsaking all other parts of *Europe*, which hee had traueiled, moued by the magnificence of *Lorenzo*, settled his habitation in *Florence*. He maruellously delighted in Musick, *Architecure* and Poetry, as many of his owne verses, and Commentaries yet extant do testifie. Also to the end that the *Florentine* youth might be exercised in learning, he erected an Vniuersitie in *Pisa*, whither he brought the most excellent men of all *Italy*. He likewise builded a Monastery neare vnto *Florence*, chiefly for

Lorenzo de Medici.

Lorenzo in marchandize infortunate.

Lorenzo magnificent.

Lorenzo a learner of learning.

Friar

Lorenzo vni-
uerſally lo-
ued.

Lorenzo ho-
nored of prin-
ces.

The death of
Lorenzo di
Medici.

Friar *Mariano da Chinazano*, of the order of *S. Austen*, being accounted an excellent Preacher. He was greatly loued both of God and fortune. All his enterprises had good successe, and his enemies misadventure: for besides the *Pazzi*, *Battista Frescobaldi*, and *Baldinotto* practized to ſley him: but either of them with others guiltie of the treason, were rewarded with the paines of their merit. This his mann of life, this his wiſedome and fortune, cauſed the Princes not onely of *Italy*, but others further of to know him: and with admiration to eſteeme him. *Mathia* King of *Hungary* made many testimonies of the loue he bare him. The *Soldan* by his Embaſſadors and preſents, did viſit him. The great Turke deliuered to his hand *Barnardo Bandini*, that murdered his brother. Which things made him highly honoured in *Italy*. And that reputation was daily by his owne wiſedome encreaſed. For in diſcourſe, he was eloquent, in counſell wiſe, in execution quicke and couragious: neither was there in him any vices to blemiſh thoſe vertues, although he were greatly delighted with loue of women, and tooke pleaſure in ieſting and taunting: and would alſo plaie at childrens games, vnſeemly in ſo great a perſonage. For ſo much he pleaſured in children, that he was often ſeene to plaie with his ſonnes, and litle daughters. But whoſoever would conſider his lightneſſe with his grauitie, ſhould thinke there were in him two perſons of diuerſe compoſition, (as it were) by impoſſible coniunction coupled. In the laſt end of his life, he liued ful of ſorrow, cauſed by extreme ſickneſſe: for he was troubled with intollerable paines of the ſtomacke, and died in Aprill the yeare 1492. and the three and fortie yeare of his age: neither was there anie man that died either in *Florence*, or elſewhere in *Italy*, ſo famous for his wiſedome, or ſo much lamented of his countrey. In ſo much as the heauens made euident ſignes of great misadventures that ſhould follow. Amongſt others, the Temple of *Santa Reparata*, was with ſo much furie ſtriken by thunder, that the greater part of the ſteeple was throwne downe, to the admiration and terrour of all men. All the inhabitants of *Florence*, and all the Princes of *Italy* lamented his death, and made manifeſt ſhewe thereof. For there was not any of them, that ſent not Embaſſadors to condole the death of *Lorenzo*. And for triall that they had iuſt cauſe to lament, the effect following prooued. For *Italy* being deſtroyed of his counſell, had not any man left therein, whoſe wiſedome could preuent or bridle the ambition of *Lo- donico Sforza*, Governour of the yoong Duke of *Milan*. Wherefore, *Lorenzo* being dead, thoſe euill ſeedes beganne to grow, which ſhortly after (wanting ſuch a one to roote them out) did ruine, and yet doth ruine all *Italy*.

F I N I S.

L O N D O N

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